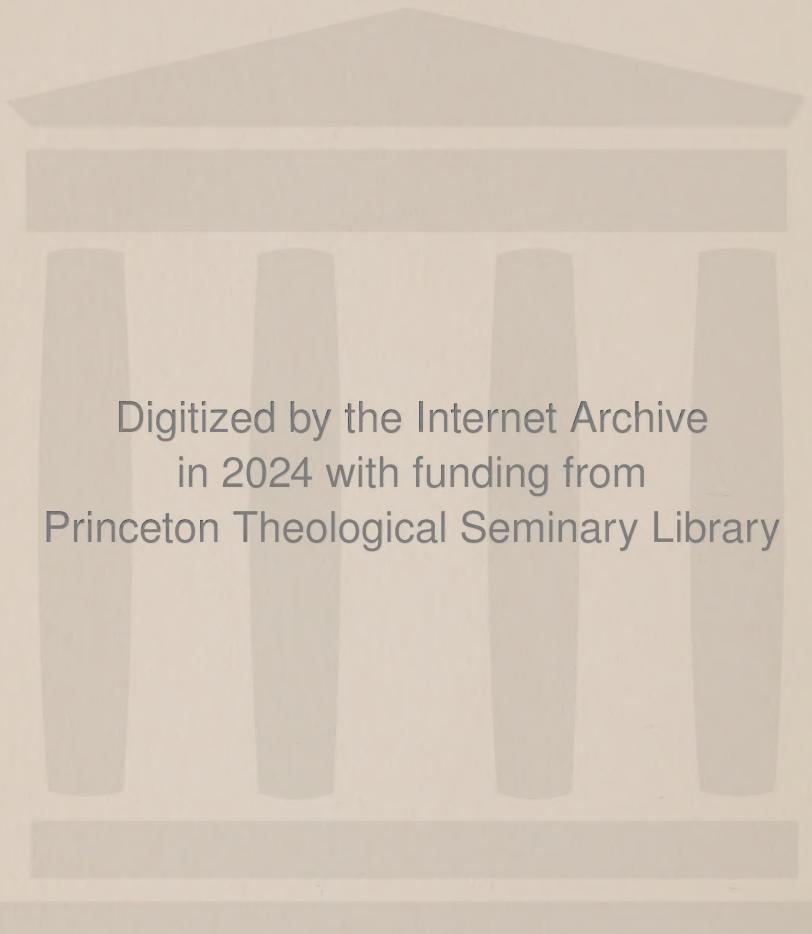




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MONOGRAPH SERIES, VOLUME ONE

Franciscan Beginnings
In Colonial Peru

Franciscan Beginnings
In Colonial Peru

Last page of a letter, showing the signature of Fray Francisco de Vitoria, treating of ecclesiastical and civil problems in Peru and Chile (dated Lima, January 10, 1553)



FRANCISCAN BEGINNINGS IN COLONIAL PERU

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ANTONINE TIBESAR, O.F.M., PH.D.

ACADEMY OF AMERICAN FRANCISCAN HISTORY
1953 WASHINGTON, D.C.

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RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

TO
THE PROVINCE OF THE
TWELVE APOSTLES OF LIMA
(1553-1953)

Preface



IN THE EVANGELIZATION of the empire of the Incas the Franciscans played a most important role. This fine study of those earliest efforts—efforts which were not lacking in either drama or heroism—is a scholarly and rewarding examination of some of the main points of that story. It is gratifying for me, as one long interested in studying the relations of these missionary undertakings to the national consciousness of Peru, to note that the author of this work has succeeded admirably in the task which he set himself. This investigation of the early labors of the Franciscans clarifies many points for that general history of the spiritual conquest of Peru which all scholars hope will be compiled in the not too distant future.

From the very first moment of their arrival toward the end of 1531, the Franciscans adapted themselves to the land and to the atmosphere of Peru. They recognized the existence of a national soul and spirit. They sought to obtain the co-operation of the natives, whether creoles or mestizos, or (what is called in a general way) the colored people. Fray Diego de Medellín—who was provincial in the 1570's—had a set policy of utilizing Peruvians for the missions and the *doctrinas*. It is true, indeed, that this same policy was also adopted by other religious Orders in educating the middle and the lower classes, these latter constituting the so-called colored classes. However, it is equally certain that of all the Orders none was closer to the popular classes than the Franciscan.

Of special interest to me is that section of this book which describes, with an abundance of detail and through an exhaustive study of the best sources, the difficulties encountered by the Franciscan friars in the beginning of their labors among the Indians. With a keen sense of satisfaction I perceive that the author confirms in some way the conclusions I put forth in my own work, *La Evangelización en el Perú y la Formación de la Conciencia Nacional*. In the first period of evangelization the work was performed by itinerant missionaries. Setting out from the main centers, in their travels through the territory of the natives they would bring the Indians together. The venerated lay brother, Fray Mateo de Jumilla, was an outstanding type of this wandering missionary. The original method which he employed to teach the doctrine, using

hymns and songs, is here explained and examined. There followed the period in which the missionaries lived in permanent residences among the Indians, whether in small convents or in the *doctrinas*. There is ample evidence that the Franciscan priests were opposed to their becoming *curas doctrineros*—because of the difficulties of isolation to which they would be subject as friars in charge of parishes, and because of the impossibility of leading the common life of prayer and work. Through force of circumstances, however, and through the decisive intervention of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, they found themselves obliged to assume charge of a number of *doctrinas* and to take up again their work in others which they had relinquished.

Except in passing, the author does not treat of the small convents which, as a compromise institution in the circumstances, would perhaps have been the ideal solution. It is to be regretted that this type of parish-convent did not become common in Peru. Combining a small monastery—where the requirements of conventional life could have been satisfied—and a *doctrina* or parish for the instruction of the population, such establishments would have prospered the work immeasurably. Examples of this combined convent and parish were the Jesuit foundations of Cerado and Juli; and probably some of the small convents occupied by the Franciscans in regions inhabited by the natives were also of this character. With the consolidation of the *reducciones* begun at the time of the Marqués de Cañete and definitively completed in the period of Toledo, the work of evangelization could not have taken any other form except the establishment of *doctrinas* for the regular clergy, or mission excursions setting out at stated intervals from the principal convents. In both one and the other approach, the contribution of the Franciscans to the civilization of Peru was enormous. The friars took charge of many *doctrinas*, refusing to receive for themselves the established stipend, and accepting only those contributions specifically intended in their entirety for the needs of the parishes and for works of charity.

Statistically and historically—as the fourth chapter of this study demonstrates—the work of the friars after 1570 in the valley of Lima, in the valleys south of Lima, in the important region of Jauja, in the areas of Huánuco, of Chachapoyas and of Cajamarca, was of the utmost influence. Here they left behind them indelible traces of their apostolic activity. In Chicalayo, in the Province of Collaguas, in Arequipa, and in the mining region of Huancavelica, the Franciscans realized accomplishments of far-reaching significance for the welfare and the prosperity of the natives.

The attentive reader will discover a great deal—especially in the

section dealing with the organization and methods of the Franciscan *doctrinas*—that casts light on the history of the culture of Peru. One of the most fascinating questions in the social sciences is the phenomenon of transculturation, the education of primitive races to a new mode of life and thinking. And here we find described a system at once idealistic and realistic, inspired by the highest concepts of Christian service to the native and yet so regulated as to protect and foster the spiritual interests of the missionary himself. The *fraile doctrinero* remained in his *doctrina* all week, instructing and administering to his charges. On Fridays he was to join his brethren in the convents found in the cities of the Spaniards. In these weekly reunions, moral and pastoral problems were discussed under the direction of the Guardian; a chance was given him to acquire necessities for the coming week; an opportunity was had for a healthy relaxation from the rigors of life among a primitive people; but, above all, a spiritual refreshment and a mental restoration were provided in the atmosphere of an established religious house such as the friars had been accustomed to from their earliest years.

In the catechizing which went on unremittingly all the other days of the week, the friars concentrated on using those means which would best help the natives understand the significance and the transcendence of the great truths proposed to them. They made use of catechisms translated by their own missionaries from Spanish or Latin, until there came into general circulation the catechism recommended by the Councils of Lima of 1552, 1567 and 1583. They used songs in the two most common tongues, the Quechua and the Aymará. Some of these songs were translated from the classic Christian hymns; others were original compositions. While it is, of course, true that all the missionaries in Peru made good use of the extraordinary power of attraction in the Catholic liturgy, and of the educational value of music, probably no Order utilized this efficacious method of evangelization with better results than the Franciscans. Nor did the friars interest themselves only in religious matters; they also devoted their attention to other aspects of general education. The missionaries established schools in which the native learned to read and write in Spanish, to sing, and to play musical instruments. The school was indeed the hope of the whole undertaking. To quote Fray Luis Jerónimo Oré, one of the most celebrated of the missionaries: "The school is the soul of the village." Adjoining the school was the hospital, which served both for the sick Indians and as a home for guests and visitors. When the Archbishop of Lima, St. Toribio de Mogrovejo, conducted his visitations during a period of seventeen years, side by side with the church in the *doctrinas* (whether of the regulars or the seculars) everywhere he found the school and the hospital. The

work of the missionary was in a certain sense an economic enterprise as well, for he encouraged among the Indians the *obreros* and other occupations which contributed to the prosperity of the region. With their fifty-nine parishes, having a total Indian population of 118,833 (one-tenth of the estimated population of Peru at the time), the friars of St. Francis without any doubt made a vast contribution to the civilization of early Peru.

The most basic religious sentiment of the primitive natives of Peru was one of reserved reverence, of fear and magical propitiation. Through the labors of the missionary friars this was transformed into a sense of human compassion, of confidence in God, a consciousness of heavenly protection. It is fascinating to speculate on the singular part played in this transformation by the distinctive qualities of Franciscan spirituality. As is quite generally known, Franciscan tradition assigns a paramount place to devotion to the Passion of Christ and to the various aspects of His human life. Is it too much to see the direct influence of this quality in the sociological changes produced in the natives? For these truths of Christian doctrine, especially stressed by Franciscan laborers, gave them, in the midst of the civil domination of the country a soul-satisfying belief to which they freely and gladly gave their allegiance.

The Indians of Peru may not have rid themselves of all superstitious ideas and practices, any more than some of the Germanic races in the Middle Ages. But the native who feels himself united with Christ through suffering and death, who at the same time realizes that he enjoys the protection of the love of Mary, already possesses a definite Christian psychology, whatever may be his moral shortcomings and the residue of his old superstitions. This mysterious psychological transformation which is the spiritual conquest of the natives of our continent is one of the epics of history. This background study of that process in action will offer many stimulating points with which to reconstruct the story.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS INDICATING LOCATION OF ARCHIVES

AGI —Archivo General de Indias. Seville, Spain.
ASFL —Archivo del Convento de San Francisco. Lima, Peru.
ASIH —Archivum Sancti Isidori Hibernorum. Rome, Italy.
BM —British Museum. London, England.
BNL —Biblioteca Nacional. Lima, Peru.
BNM —Biblioteca Nacional. Madrid, Spain.
BRM —Biblioteca Real. Madrid, Spain.
HL —Henry E. Huntington Library. San Marino, California.
LC —Library of Congress. Washington, D. C.
NYPL —New York Public Library. New York, New York.

Introduction



THE STUDENT of Latin-American history who is interested in the part played by the Catholic Church in sixteenth-century Peru is faced at once by the lack of documentary materials. The priests who accompanied Pizarro on his third and last voyage to Peru and those who arrived within a short time after the capture of Atahualpa were strangely silent, although their military companions published numerous accounts of their adventures and indeed made the capture of Atahualpa one of the most thoroughly reported events of Peruvian colonial history. However, no priest or friar who helped to lay the foundations of the Catholic Church during those first decades published any major account of their activities. It may well be that such accounts were indeed written and that they either have been destroyed or have not yet been located in the archives which preserve them. In either case, little is known today of the activities of churchmen who may have attempted to win the natives of the Inca Empire for the Catholic Church during the first decades.

Through fortunate circumstances, entirely beyond the control of the author, he was permitted free use of the ancient archives of the Franciscans in Lima. There he found most of the material which Fray Diego de Córdoba had used for his *Corónica*, as well as some documents which did not interest that chronicler. Heartened by the generosity which had permitted him to gather material from this source, the author continued in succeeding years either in person or through the kindness of friends to gather other material on the activity of the Franciscans. With the material now in hand, deficient though it is, it seems possible to sketch at least what the Franciscans tried to do for the Indian in sixteenth-century Peru.

It is therefore not the intention of the author to write either a total history of the Franciscans in Peru during that first century, much less a history of the Catholic Church during that same period. This volume will describe the efforts of the Franciscans to convert the Indian of Peru. The first two chapters will describe the coming of the Franciscans to the country and the organization of the first province in Spanish South America. The remaining chapters will treat of the work among

the Indians, some of the difficulties which hampered the work of conversion, the *doctrinas* administered by the friars and the method which they developed to instruct the Indians in the Christian Faith.

It is a pleasure to record the names of some of the many friends who have aided the author. Chief among these are Fray Fernando Argüedas y Solórzano, Provincial of the Province of the Twelve Apostles, who so kindly opened the archives of his province to the author, and Fray Luis Arroyo, Provincial of the Province of San Solano, who graciously offered the author hospitality for more than a year. Fathers Odorico Saiz, Miguel Uribe, Lino G. Canedo, Luis Olivares Morales and Philotheus Boehner kindly aided the author in locating desired manuscripts in foreign archives and in procuring the needed copies. Thanks are due also to the friendly staffs of many libraries who have borne patiently with many requests: Biblioteca Nacional of Lima, then in the charge of Dr. Jorge Basadre, the Archivo Nacional of that same city, the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress, the Library of the Pan American Union, the New York Public Library and the Henry E. Huntington Library of San Marino. The author also acknowledges the kindness of the Trustees of the British Museum, who have granted permission to publish the document contained in Appendix III. A special acknowledgment is due Dr. Manoel S. Cardozo, the Reverend John Tracy Ellis and Dr. Regina F. Herzfeld, who kindly read the manuscript and suggested many valuable corrections.

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Washington, D. C.

January 6, 1953

Franciscan Beginnings
In Colonial Peru

The Arrival of the Franciscans in Peru

HE ROLE OF THE DOMINICANS in the early history of Peru is quite well known.¹ Because members of this Order were appointed by the Crown, in accordance with its privileges under the *Real Patronato*, to represent the royal religious interests, their actions became part of the official record. At the same time, perhaps because of the prestige of their official position and perhaps also because of special personal qualifications, the Dominicans who accompanied the conquering army of Pizarro played so important a role in the development of the conquest, such as Fray Valverde's intervention in the capture of the Inca, that their deeds could not readily have been overlooked by any chronicler of that event.

On the other hand, the student who is interested in the part played by the Franciscans in that same episode experiences the greatest difficulty in finding proof that the Franciscans were even present. The conclusion soon becomes inescapable that for the Franciscans, the conquest of Peru was definitely a matter of secondary importance, very probably because at the time that Pizarro was preparing his third and last voyage to Peru in 1531 and 1532 the Franciscan superiors in both the Old and the New Worlds were concentrating all available men on the task of converting and civilizing the natives of New Spain. For this same reason, the number of friars who could be sent to Peru within the first years was limited, and their role there was consequently of secondary importance.

At the time, however, it was not at all so evident that the Dominicans would play the dominant role in the spiritual conquest of that land. When Pizarro began his discoveries, the Franciscan title to that honor was perhaps stronger than the Dominican; the Franciscans had advanced step by step with the Spanish captains into the lands which were to prove the steppingstones to Peru, especially Tierra Firme and Panama, and were even to accompany the conqueror of Peru on his first voyages of discovery. Thus, already in 1509 some Franciscans had come with Diego de Ojeda from Espanola to his colony of Nueva Andalucía.² In 1514

1. Juan Meléndez, *Tesoros Verdaderos de las Indias* (3 vols.; Rome, 1681-1682).
2. Pedro Simón, *Noticias Historiales de las conquistas de Tierra Firme en las Indias Occidentales* (5 vols.; Bogotá, 1882-1892), III, 220.

six members³ of the Order came from Spain with Pedrarias Dávila, first Royal Governor of Tierra Firme, as companions of the Franciscan Juan de Quevedo,⁴ first Bishop of Santa María de la Antigua del Darién.⁵ Shortly after their arrival, these friars were joined by others fromEspañola,⁶ and these constructed what is to all appearances the first permanent Franciscan residence on the South American continent, so that by December 28, 1515, Governor Pedrarias could write to the Crown that "the Franciscan monastery at Antigua was proceeding well under Fray Domingo de la Torre."⁷

After several vain attempts to dominate the interior from the coastal city of Antigua, Spanish power gradually spread towards the west and the Isthmus of Panama. Accordingly in 1519, Pedrarias moved the capital from Antigua to the newly founded city of Panama, and the ecclesiastical and religious foundations were forced to follow this example.

Just when the Franciscans came to Panama from Antigua is not

3. The names of four of these friars are known: Juan de Escobar, Sebastián de Rivadeneira, Juan de Mendaña and Domingo de la Torre. See Pablo Alvarez Rubiano, *Pedrarias Dávila* (Madrid, 1944), p. 226.

4. Guilelmus van Gulick-Conrad Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*, III (Münster i. W., 1910), 286, says that Quevedo was nominated on September 9, 1513.

5. Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia General y Natural de las Indias* (14 vols.; Asunción del Paraguay, 1944-1945), VII, 115. Hereafter cited as Oviedo, *Historia General*.

6. Among the Franciscans on Española was an Indian friar from Tierra Firme. It was thought that if this friar would return to his native land, his services would offer many advantages in the work of conversion. Accordingly, King Ferdinand, by a royal decree of July 28, 1513, ordered the provincial of Española to send this friar to Tierra Firme after the arrival of the Pedrarias expedition. See Manuel Serrano y Sanz, *Orígenes de la Dominación Española en América* (Madrid, 1918), pp. 311 f., note 4. In part the royal decree reads as follows: "El Rey. Deboto Padre Provincial de la Orden de San Francisco de la ysla Española. Ya abreys savido como nos enviamos una gruesa armada con gente y mantenimientos y con nuestro Capitan general y Gobernador a la tierra que fasta aqui se ha llamado Firme y agora mande llamar Castilla dorada, a la descubrir e

pacificar e reducir a los yndios al servicio de Dios Nuestro Señor e nuestro; e porque yo he savido que en la vuestra casa esta [un] frayle yndio de la dicha Tierra Firma, e porque parece que con llebarle el dicho Capitan general y Gobernador aria mucho fruto para la conversion y doctrina de los yndios de la dicha tierra, por ende yo vos encargo que, juntamente con cierta gente que mandamos que desa dicha ysla vaya a la dicha tierra de Castilla dorada, envieys al dicho religioso, bien instruido e ynformado de lo que debe fazer para la conversion e doctrina de los dichos yndios de la dicha tierra. . ." The provincial to whom this royal command was addressed was Fray Diego de Torres. This friar went to Tierra Firme from Española shortly after the arrival of the Governor Pedrarias Dávila and possibly with the Indian friar mentioned in the king's decree. In 1516 the provincial was sent to Spain by Bishop Quevedo to represent him at court. Oviedo, *Historia General*, VII, 167 ff.

7. "El monasterio de Franciscos va bien y lo hace muy bien el Padre Fray Domingo de la Torre. . ." Alvarez Rubiano, *op. cit.*, p. 223, note 45. Actually this monastery had been started some months earlier. On May 2, 1515, Pedrarias had already reported that the monastery was completed: "Se ha echo un monasterio de Franciscos en que hay seis frailes que hazen mucho provecho, pero padecen necesidad." NYPL, Rich 2, fol. 103b.

known, though the Audiencia of Panama reported that this took place "shortly after the foundation of the city."⁸ Unfortunately, the Audiencia does not furnish the exact year; but, from the fact that it lists the Franciscan monastery before either the Mercedarian or the Dominican, it would seem that the Franciscan residence antedated both establishments. The Mercedarian house was founded in 1522. Hence, it would not be rash to conclude that the Franciscans had arrived either at the time of the transfer of the political government in 1519, or shortly thereafter. Certainly by 1524, when Pizarro and Almagro began their great adventure, the Franciscans were in Panama; for a Franciscan of Panama, Fray Juan de los Santos, accompanied Pizarro on his first voyage, and possibly also on the second.⁹

In view of the fact that a Franciscan had accompanied Francisco Pizarro on his first and possibly also on his second voyage, it would not have been surprising if Franciscans were with him also on his third and final voyage. Besides, it is possible that Cortés, Pizarro's distant relative, may have recommended Franciscans for the Peruvian enter-

8. "El convento de San Francisco fundaron los vecinos poco después de la fundación de la ciudad. . . ." "Descripción de Panamá y su Provincia, sacada de la Relación que por mandado del Consejo hizo y embió aquella Audiencia, año de 1607." *Relaciones Históricas y Geográficas de América Central. Colección de Libros y Documentos referentes a la Historia de América*, VIII (Madrid, 1908), 213.

The erection of the Franciscan residence in Panama did not mean the immediate abandonment of the earlier convent in Antigua. The friars still occupied their monastery in Antigua as late as 1525; indeed, their immediate superior also made this residence his headquarters. "Que haviendo fallecido el Obispo de allá [Antigua] Fray Vicente Peraza podria nombrarse a un fraile Francisco que ha 12 años que está allá i quedó en lugar de fray Juan de Quevedo quando se vino a Castilla i es muy bueno: se llama fray Alonso de Estoval, natural de Ciudad Real, es comisario, siempre ha presidido en el monasterio: mui amante i mui querido de los Yndios, cuia lengua sabe." "Relación de lo que conviene proveer para el Darién, dada por el Bachiller Corral, años de 1524-1525." NYPL, Rich 2, fol. 238. From this account it seems probable that Fray Alonso de Estoval was one of the six friars who came with Pedrarias from Spain.

9. "Información levantada ante el Gobernador y Oficiales reales para averiguar el

estado en que se hallaba la gente que Francisco Pízaro tenía en la Isla del Gallo. Panamá, 29 de Agosto de 1528," in José Toribio Medina, *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Chile*, VI (Santiago de Chile, 1895), 36 f.: "En este día [July 15, 1527] fué preguntado el reverendo padre fray Juan de los Santos de la orden de señor San Francisco, que se halló é ha estado siempre con los dichos capitanes, qué tanto socorro le paresce á su reverencia que bastaría para que los capitanes Pízaro é Diego de Almagro pudiesen conseguir su viaje. . . ." Substantially the same information is contained in an article by Raúl Porras Barrenechea, "Los Franciscanos en el Perú en la época colonial," *Revista Franciscana del Perú*, XXVIII (1944), 304: "El primer franciscano auténtico que acompañó a Pízaro en el primer viaje y acaso en el segundo, pero no llegó al Perú fué Fray Juan de los Santos. . . ." Nothing is known of this friar beyond the fact that he accompanied Pízaro. However, it is possible that he is the same man whom Licenciado Castañeda consulted at León de Nicaragua in 1528. See "Carta del Lic. Castañeda al Pedro de los Ríos, Leon de Nicaragua, 1528." NYPL, Rich 2, fol. 295b: "El Padre Fray Juan [Muñoz notes that he was a Franciscan] viendo esto que me ha sucedido i mis dolencias me ha consejado vaya a España a me curar."

prise when the two men met at the convent of La Rábida in 1529. Even so, there is no mention of Franciscans in any of the official documents which record the preparations made for the final expedition, although Wadding says that Franciscans were asked to go.¹⁰ Muñoz notes that the Mercedarians were also requested to send some friars with Pizarro;¹¹ but there is no mention in the official records of the third expedition that either Franciscans or Mercedarians were with the conquering army. Did friars of these Orders go only as unofficial chaplains? Possibly, but all we know for certain at this time is that six Dominicans were sent by the Crown as its official religious representatives.¹²

The date of the arrival of the first Franciscans in Peru after Pizarro had begun his conquest is difficult to ascertain because of the almost complete silence not only of the official chroniclers but also of the casual letter writers among the conquerors. Fray Diego de Córdoba y Salinas, whose chronicle appeared in 1651, says that the first Franciscans, under the guidance of Fray Marcos de Niza, arrived in Peru either late in 1532 or early in 1533.¹³ Córdoba, however, erred by possibly a year, for the first Franciscans arrived most probably in the second half of the year 1531 and surely before January, 1532, as may be seen from the testimony of Licenciado de la Gama.¹⁴ This conclusion is confirmed in some way

10. ". . . Franciscum Piçarrum multis etiam Caesar cumulavit beneficii; magna concepta spe dilatandi sui imperii in Peruana provincia: per quam ut fides pariter propagaretur dedit itineris socios Predicatores et Minores. . . ." Luke Wadding, *Annales Minorum seu Trium Ordinum a Santo Francisco Institutorum* (25 vols.; Quaracchi, 1931-1934), XVI, 306. Despite these words of Wadding, no Franciscans are found among the passengers listed in the "Probanza sobre el armada que lleva Francisco Pizarro Gobernador del Piru fecha en 17 de Enero de 1530 en el puerto de San Lucar de Barrameda en el Galeon Santiago Maestre Domingo de Ibáñez por Juan de Aranda. Factor de la Casa de la Contratacion." NYPL, Rich 2, fol. 306.

11. "Parecer de D. Juan Bautista Muñoz sobre una Apología de la Verdad, escrita por el Padre Fray Pedro Ruiz Naharro." NYPL, Rich 2, fols. 27 f. In his "Apología," Fray Ruiz Naharro, a Mercedarian, produced a document which purported to prove that Mercedarians had accompanied Columbus on his first voyage to the New World. Among the Mercedarians who supposedly accompanied Columbus were: Fray Miguel de Orenes, Fray Francisco de Bobadilla, Fray Juan de Vargas, Fray Sebastián de Trujillo and Fray Diego Mar-

tínez. Muñoz maintains that Naharro's document is a forgery, and one of the reasons which he adduces is the fact that these five friars are all mentioned in a *patente* of December, 1529, appointing them to accompany Pizarro on the conquest of Peru. Muñoz promised to copy the *patente* of 1529, but I was unable to locate it. However, it is evident that Muñoz had such a document, and hence, while the Dominicans were appointed by the Crown to be the official chaplains of the Pizarro expedition, this appointment was not exclusive of similar honors for friars of other Orders. Hence, it is also possible that Franciscans may have been selected in Spain to go with Pizarro on his third voyage.

12. Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Cedulario del Perú (1525-1534)*, I (Lima, 1944), 18-24, prints the Capitulations of the Crown with Pizarro.

13. Diego de Córdoba y Salinas, *Corónica de la Religiosíssima Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú de la Orden de N.P.S. Francisco de la Regular Observancia* (Lima, 1651), p. 47.

14. "Carta del Licenciado de la Gama a la Emperatriz." Panama, February 25, 1532. NYPL, Rich 2, fol. 354b: "Los frailes Dominicos i Franciscos que de Nicaragua fueron al Peru son venidos ahora quinze

by the testimony of Nicholas Herborn. This Franciscan, provincial of the Cologne province, attended the general chapter of the Order at Toulouse in southern France in May, 1532. Delegates to this chapter had come from all parts of Europe and even some parts of America, among them one Flemish friar who had spent some years in South America where he had reputedly baptized some 5,000 natives. From the Americas also came written reports from various religious superiors. From these sources, Herborn learned that by May, 1532, a commissary with five friars had set out for Túmbez.¹⁵ It should be noted, of course, that this commissary must have left for Túmbez sometime in 1531, for the Flemish friar who brought the news to Herborn had to travel from Tierra Firme to Toulouse, a journey of several months.¹⁶ Actually then the commissary and his five companions may well have been the same friars from Nicaragua whom Gama referred to in February, 1532. Some corroborative evidence is found in two contemporary documents. In March, 1531, two Dominicans and two Franciscans arrived in León de Nicaragua with orders from their prelates to proceed to Peru.¹⁷ While

dias i hablan mui mal de la manera de governacion de Pizarro." It seems evident that if these friars returned to Panama from Peru on February 10, 1532, they must have gone to that country at least sometime late in the year 1531, for at least a few months would be required for them to reach Peru, form an unfavorable opinion of Pizarro, and return to Panama.

15. Túmbez was a name distinctive of Peru. A diligent search did not reveal any other place in Spanish America which bore this name. In the early years of the conquest, Túmbez was used as the name not only of the city in northern Peru, but also of the entire northern area of Pizarro's conquests. See Porras Barrenechea, *Cedulario*, XII: "En 1528, descubierto ya el Perú en el segundo viaje de Pizarro y la ciudad de Túmbez, comenzó a usarse como nombre oficial de la nueva tierra, el de Túmbez."

16. Herborn's information concerning the status of the friars in the New World is contained in two documents. One is a long letter of May (?), 1532, written by Herborn to the members of the Cologne province. This letter contains the statement that a commissary had set out for Túmbez. For the text of this letter, which must still be considered unpublished, as well as a discussion of its value, see Appendix I, pp. 98-104. The second source is the official report which Herborn issued to the Franciscan Order after he had been elected commissary general at Toulouse. Since this report

deals almost exclusively with the conversion of the natives of the Americas, it is generally called "Epitome convertendi gentes Indiarum ad fidem Christi." This report was printed in Cologne on August 23, 1532, in one volume together with "De Insulis nuper inventis Petri Martyris narratio," "Ferdinandi Cortessii de iisdem narrationes" and "Epistolae duae fratrum Minorum de felici apud Indos Evangelii incremento." Wadding, *op. cit.*, XVI, 360-372, reprinted most of this report of Herborn and this pertinent passage was taken from that edition (p. 360): "Mox ubi Coloniense Capitulum ut vocamus, ut vero alii Synodus, absolvisset, reverendi Patres, reditus est mihi liber quispiam, quo Ferdinandi Cortessii complures, non sine multis periculis exantlatae et profectiones et navigationes per mare Oceanum, ad Indos usque, paucis verbis erant descriptae. Legi obiter: nam per negotia diutius diligentiusque in eo versari non licuit; *offendi quoque multa iis respondere, quae nuper Tolosanis in Comitiis nobis enarrarunt Patres, qui civitatem Temistitan et Tumbensem incolunt.* . . ." (my italics)

17. ". . . han venido cuatro religiosos . . . dos de la orden de Santo Domingo y dos de la orden de San Francisco." "Carta del Licenciado Castañeda a S. M." León de Nicaragua, March 31, 1531. Francisco Vásquez, *Crónica de la Provincia del Santísimo Nombre de Jesús de Guatemala*, ed. by Lázaro Lamadrid (4 vols.; Guatemala, 1937), I, 30, note 3.

awaiting transportation to their destination, each group founded a convent of its respective Order in the city. The friars were still in León at the end of May, 1531, but by that time Licenciado Castañeda, the local royal governor, had authorized them to leave for Peru.¹⁸ It would seem reasonable to presume that the friars obeyed this order at the first opportunity, for their main purpose was not to stay in Nicaragua but rather to go on to Peru.

Although not enough is known concerning the movement of ships between Nicaragua and Peru at this time to enable us to reach any exact conclusion as to the date of a sailing after May 30, 1531, it is nonetheless true that Sebastián de Benalcázar, first alcalde of the city of León, was at about that time readying the expedition which soon thereafter sailed for Peru.¹⁹ Moreover, Juan de Velasco, S.J., states definitely that some Franciscans did come to Peru with Benalcázar;²⁰ and the Jesuit's modern critic, Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño,²¹ agrees that this is probable.²² The date of the arrival of Benalcázar and that of the arrival of the Franciscans from Nicaragua should be identical, and if we can ascertain the one, we should also find the other.²³ When then did Benalcázar arrive in

18. "A sucedido que Dios a encamynado que viniesen a esta ciudad quatro religiosos, muy reverendas personas, dos de la horden de Santo Domingo e dos de la horden de San Francisco. Han fundado dos monasterios de ambas religiones. Tienen pensamiento estos padres de pasarse al Peru, porque dizan que para ello traen letras de sus prelados. He mandado que pasen." "Carta del Licenciado Castañeda a S. M." León de Nicaragua, 30 de Mayo de 1531, in Rubiano, *op. cit.*, p. 682.

In 1528 Fray Juan de Toledo had been sent to Santo Domingo as personal representative in Spanish America of the Franciscan minister general with full powers of the general. He very probably was the prelate who had sent the friars to Peru. See Joseph Torrubia, *Chronica de la Seraphica Religion del Glorioso Patriarcha San Francisco de Assis* (Rome, 1756), p. 193.

19. Antonio de Herrera, *Historia General de los Hechos de los Castellanos en las Islas, y Tierra Firme de el Mar Océano* (10 vols.; Asunción del Paraguay-Buenos Aires, 1944-1947), V, 361, states that after Pizarro had captured Coaque in April, 1531, he sent two ships, one to Nicaragua and the other to Panama, to show his friends there some samples of the riches already gathered and to invite them to join him. A special letter of invitation was sent to Benalcázar, his old companion in arms. Benalcázar had campaigned with Pizarro in Panama, and

he was the godfather of Almagro's only son.

20. Juan de Velasco, S.J., *Historia del Reino de Quito en la América Meridional* (3 vols.; Quito, 1841-1844), II, 87, note 1.

21. Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, "Examen Crítico de la Veracidad de la Historia del Reino de Quito del P. Juan de Velasco de la Compañía de Jesus," *Boletín de la Sociedad Ecuatoriana de Estudios Históricos Americanos*, I (Quito, 1918), 33-63. The author maintains and seems to prove that Velasco not only fabricated his *Historia* but also forged the sources quoted therein, three of which are supposedly the work of Fray Marcos de Niza. See Antonio Ballesteros y Beretta, *Historia de España y su Influencia en la Historia Universal*, IV (Barcelona, 1926), 352.

22. Jacinto Jijón y Caamaño, *Sebastián de Benalcázar* (2 vols.; Quito, 1936), I, 16 f.

23. The chronology of the conquest of Peru is still very confused. Within the past ten years, largely through the efforts of Raúl Porras Barrenechea, many primary sources have been made available to students, so that today perhaps a trustworthy chronology is possible. The effort made by Philip Ainsworth Means (trans. and ed.), *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdom of Peru by Pedro Pizarro* (2 vols.; New York, 1921), I, 121 ff., was premature, and his work today is largely useless.

Peru? The majority of the chroniclers, among them Diego de Trujillo, a soldier in Pizarro's army, whose narrative inspires the greatest respect,²⁴ say that Benalcázar appeared while Pizarro was encamped at Coaque on the coast of modern Ecuador;²⁵ or sometime between April and September, 1531.²⁶ Jijón y Caamaño believes that Benalcázar came about the month of June, 1531.²⁷ If this is correct, as probably it is, the Franciscans arrived from Nicaragua at the same time.

Who were the friars, Franciscans and Dominicans, that came to Peru with Benalcázar's expedition?²⁸ One of the Dominicans was almost certainly Fray Bernardino de Minaya,²⁹ and one³⁰ of his companions

²⁴ Diego de Trujillo, *Relación del Descubrimiento del Reyno del Perú*, ed. by Raúl Porras Barrenechea (Sevilla, 1948), p. 48.

²⁵ Pedro Pizarro, Naharro and Montesinos agree with Trujillo that Benalcázar joined Francisco Pizarro at Coaque. Gómarra, Zárate and Herrera (none was an eyewitness) state that Benalcázar landed at Puerto Viejo, while Estete says he came when Pizarro was at Puná. Garcilaso alone maintains that Benalcázar joined the expedition at Túmbez.

²⁶ This is clear from the dates on the documents written while the Pizarro expedition remained at Coaque. See Stella R. Clemence, *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1932), pp. 1-7.

²⁷ "... Benalcázar se juntó con Pizarro ... cuando estaba en Puerto Viejo ... con quien parece probable fuese Niza ... no sería muy aventurado creer que Benalcázar se reuniría con Pizarro por Junio de 1531." Jijón y Caamaño, "Examen Crítico," 43 f. While Jijón y Caamaño may have chosen the approximately correct date, he does not seem to have selected the correct spot, since Pizarro was at Puerto Viejo in October and not in June, 1531, as noted above.

²⁸ The task of identification of these friars is extremely tedious, and the sources available today, even after an arduous search, are not sufficient to warrant more than a degree of probability in the conclusion.

²⁹ Fray Bernardino de Minaya identifies himself as the Dominican who founded the convent of his Order in León de Nicaragua, which was established before May 30, 1531 (see above, note 18), by two friars who were waiting to go to Peru. (Antonio de Remesal, *Historia General de las Indias Occidentales y Particular de la Gobernación de Chiapa y Guatemala* [2 vols.;

Guatemala, 1932], I, 159, says that this convent was begun only after the return from Peru; this is certainly a mistake.) Fray Bernardino also states that he joined Pizarro on the coast of modern Ecuador and that he journeyed with Pizarro to the island of Puná and then departed. Hence Fray Minaya arrived in Peru sometime in 1531. This Dominican went to Peru at that time to promulgate the royal decree which forbade the enslavement of the Indians. It is easy to understand that the friar was not welcomed by either Pizarro or his captains. In fact, Pizarro cut off the rations of the Dominican and his companions. Accordingly, as Minaya says, "así me vine a Panamá." Fray Bernardino de Minaya may have been one of the Dominicans who returned to Panamá on February 10, 1532. Hanke thinks that Minaya spent the months of May to September, 1532, with Pizarro. This, however, is hardly possible since by May, 1532, Pizarro had advanced beyond Puná and was in fact on the point of setting out from Túmbez for his eventual meeting with Atahualpa; Minaya states clearly that he accompanied the captain only to Puná. See Lewis Hanke, "El Papa Paulo III y los Indios de América," (reprint) *Revista de la Universidad Católica Bolivariana* (Medellín, 1940), pp. 31 f. In this article, Hanke reprints a letter which Fray Bernardino de Minaya wrote to Philip II about 1559, in which the friar gives the biographical details noted above.

³⁰ Although Fray Bernardino de Minaya had only one companion while in León de Nicaragua, he had at least two and possibly more companions with him when he spoke with Pizarro. The added friar or friars may have joined him in Panamá. Fray Marcos de Niza may have also gained extra companions during the usual stop in Panamá.

may have been the celebrated Fray Bartolomé de las Casas.³¹ None of the Franciscans can be identified with as much certainty as can the Dominican, but there are some reasons to think that the leader of the group of Franciscans—Herborn's commissary—was Fray Marcos de Niza. Both Juan de Velasco³² and Jijón y Caamaño³³ name Niza as the leader of the Franciscans. Mariano Cuevas states that Niza was in León de Nicaragua in 1531, awaiting transportation to Peru, and that he did go there.³⁴ This is likely, for Niza had gone to Nicaragua from Santo Domingo for the purpose of proceeding to Peru, as had many of the conquistadors themselves; the route to Peru from Española via Nicaragua was well known and well traveled.³⁵ It is not surprising, therefore, that a recent author should state without reservation: "In 1531, he [Niza] was the leader of the band of Franciscans who accompanied Pizarro."³⁶ Apparently the only contemporary reference which may identify Niza as the leader is the testimony of Niza himself which was published by Fray Bartolomé de las Casas in his *Brevíssima Relación*:

I, Fray Marcos de Niça, of the Order of the blessed Saint Francis, commissary of the fathers of the same Order in the provinces of Peru, who was among the first who entered them, giving testimony concerning some cruelties which I saw in that country, state, concerning the bad treatment and the conquests of the natives of that [land]....³⁷

31. José María Vargas, *La Conquista Espiritual del Imperio de los Incas* (Quito, 1948), pp. 46-48, discusses the presence of Las Casas in Peru at this time.

32. Velasco, *op. cit.*, II, 87, note 1.

33. Jijón y Caamaño, "Examen Crítico," 43 f.

34. "El año de 1531, Fray Marcos de Niza se hallaba en León de Nicaragua de paso para el Perú y al lado del célebre dominico, Fray Bartolomé de las Casas.... Pasaron, al efecto, a tierras peruanas pero no se entendieron con Pizarro." Mariano Cuevas, *Historia de la Nación Mexicana* (Mexico, 1940), p. 194.

35. Antonio del Solar y Taboada, "Relación de los servicios en Indias de D. Juan Ruiz de Arce, conquistador del Perú," *Boletín de la Academia de la Historia*, CII, (1933), 327-384. Juan Ruiz de Arce had traveled from Española to Nicaragua and thence to Peru, where he joined Pizarro near Coaque. This conquistador maintains that he and his party sailed from Nicaragua to the vicinity of the Bahía de San Mateo in eight days (p. 352). The editing of this valuable source is truly barbarous.

36. Lázaro de Aspurz, *La Aportación Extranjera a las Misiones Españolas del Patronato Regio* (Madrid, 1946), p. 75.

Aspurz seems to rely considerably on a recent study by E. Beri, *Fray Marcos de Niza* (Nice, 1938), which the present writer was not able to consult.

37. There are two redactions of the *Brevíssima* of Las Casas which proved useful to the author. One is the copy written by Las Casas in 1542 and printed in 1552. The second is a manuscript version made in 1548. Both are reprinted in Antonio M. Fabié, *Vida y Escritos de D. Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas* (2 vols.; Madrid, 1879). The printed version is found *ibid.*, II, 209-201, while the manuscript version of 1548 with the title "Istoria Sumaria y Relacion Brevíssima y Verdadera de lo que vio y escribió el Reverendo Padre Fray Bartolomé de la Peña de la Orden de los Predicadores de la Lamentable y Lastimosa Destruicion de las Indias, Islas y Tierra Firme del Mar del Norte, año de MDXL y IIX [1548]" is also found *ibid.*, II, 293-407. Fabié says (*ibid.*, I, 283) that Fray Bartolomé de la Peña is identical with Fray Bartolomé de las Casas. For reasons which will be explained later, I have preferred to give here the Niza quotation as it is found in the 1548 version: "Yo, fray Marcos de Niça, de la Orden del bien aventurado San Francisco, comisario de los padres de la

When did Niza make this deposition? Clearly after he had already left Peru, since he always uses *that* or *those* and never *this* or *these*; in 1532 or 1533, according to Las Casas.³⁸ If this is true, then Fray Marcos was commissary in Peru before 1532, i.e., 1531, or at the very latest before 1533, i.e., in 1532.³⁹ Despite some persistent doubts, occasioned only by our suspicion that Niza's testimony was partially revised by Las Casas, we cite this testimony as possible proof that Fray Marcos de Niza was present as commissary in Peru either in 1531 or early in 1532. At least this much may be gathered from the testimony reproduced by Las Casas, unless we admit that the Dominican revised the entire document, for which, however, there is no evidence.⁴⁰ In that case, Las Casas would have defeated his own purpose in reproducing the testimony, since as he himself points out, Niza's deposition was of special value because it was given by a man who had been in Peru during the first stages of the conquest. Although the Dominican had sufficient information concerning the later developments in Peru from other sources, apparently he had little on the early period which agreed with his purpose. In short, it would seem that the Franciscans came to Peru in 1531 (not in 1532 or

misma orden en las provincias del Peru, que fuy de los primeros que en ellas entraron, dando testimonio de algunas crueidades que bi en aquella tierra, digo cerca de mal tratamiento y conquistas hechas a los naturales della. . . ." Fabié, *op. cit.*, II, 374. The original has Nieça, which seemed to be a copyist's error for Niza.

38. Las Casas gives the date indirectly. In the 1542 copy he writes: "Hase considerar aqui lo que este padre dice que vido porque fue en cincuenta o cien leguas de tierra y a nueve o diez años. . . ." i.e., 1532 or 1533 (thus Fabié, *op. cit.*, II, 280). In the 1548 version, Las Casas says: ". . . y ase considerar bien lo que aqueste padre dice que bio, que fue solo en ciente leguas de tierra, que puede aber quinze u diez y seis años, porque era poco despues que fue descubierto el Peru. . . ." i.e., 1532 or 1533 (thus Fabié, *op. cit.*, II, 376).

39. Fray Marcos de Niza returned to Peru in 1534 with the expedition of D. Pedro de Alvarado and departed sometime in 1536 for Guatemala and New Spain. Niza's activity during this second sojourn in Peru was certainly creditable. He labored strenuously and successfully to persuade Alvarado and Diego de Almagro to compose their differences peacefully without recourse to civil war. In the negotiations carried on between the two leaders,

Niza served as Alvarado's chaplain and once as his agent. See Pacheco, Cárdenas, Torres de Mendoza *et al.* (eds.), *Colección de Documentos inéditos relativos al Descubrimiento, Conquista y Organización de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de América y Oceanía*, X (Madrid, 1868), 166 f. Blas de Atienza, one of Almagro's witnesses, has this to say of Niza: ". . . cree este testigo que si no fuera por las dichas personas que de un cabo e de otro anduvieron entre ellos, especialmente el Padre Fray Marcos, Francisco, y el Licenciado Caldera y el Capitan Ruy Diaz, que todavía viniera a rompimiento la cosa. . . ." "Información hecha a pedimento del Mariscal D. Diego de Almagro contra el Adelantado D. Pedro de Alvarado sobre haberse introducido en su gobernación, año de 1534." *Ibid.*, p. 167.

40. Rómulo Carbia, *Historia de la Leyenda Negra Hispano-Americana* (Buenos Aires, 1943), p. 52, note 77, warns that Niza's testimony as printed by Las Casas should be regarded with suspicion because its phrases are so similar to those ordinarily used by Las Casas. Carbia, however, based his conclusion only on a study of the 1542 text. For a more detailed examination of the extent of the revision made by Las Casas in Niza's testimony based on a comparison of the 1542 and the 1548 texts, see Appendix II, pp. 105-108.

1533, as Fray Diego de Córdoba says)⁴¹ and that Fray Marcos de Niza was the superior of the Franciscans there in 1531 or 1532.⁴²

The number and the identity of Niza's companions—the friars of whom Fray Marcos was the commissary—also present a difficult problem. In this case there are no trustworthy documents to fall back upon. Córdoba y Salinas was the first to say that Niza arrived with twelve companions,⁴³ but later writers have challenged this number. Thus Figueroa writes that Niza and six companions founded the Franciscan province of Lima.⁴⁴ Wadding agrees.⁴⁵ Mendoza, however, says that Niza and his six colleagues were later joined by five others to raise the total to twelve.⁴⁶ Pedro Ruiz de Naharro gives Fray Marcos only two companions, and these he places in Cuzco,⁴⁷ while the author of the

41. See pp. 6-7, note 14, *supra*.

42. For a contrary opinion see Raúl Barrenechea, *Las Relaciones Primitivas de la Conquista del Perú* (Paris, 1937), p. 17: "... Fray Marcos de Niza, que estuvo en el Perú en la región de Quito únicamente algunos meses del año 1534." A few years later, Barrenechea was even more definite in his opinion that Niza could not possibly have come to Peru in 1531 or 1532. Niza, according to Barrenechea, had not been present in Cajamarca, did not know Pizarro, had not passed beyond Quito and had witnessed only the cruelties of Alvarado. See Barrenechea's "Una nueva interpretación de la personalidad de Francisco Pizarro," *Boletín de la Comisión Nacional Peruana de Cooperación Intelectual*, I (Lima, 1941), 15-42, especially p. 18: "Las Casas fué el primero en vilipendiar la conquista del Perú y en hablar 'del infierno del Perú,' sin haber estado en él. Su informante más sospechoso fué el franciscano Niza, inventor descarado del Dorado de Cíbola en Méjico, quién no estuvo en Cajamarca ni conoció a Pizarro, pués no pasó de Quito y sólo presenció los desmanes de su jefe, Alvarado. Del falso testimonio de Niza, amplificado por el alto-parlante de Las Casas, proviene toda la leyenda adversa a Pizarro." Despite the warmth of the denials of Barrenechea, it should be noted that Niza swore that he did know Pizarro. How had the friar met the conquistador if on his second voyage to Peru in 1534 he had remained in the vicinity of Quito as Barrenechea says, since it is certain that Pizarro in that year did not visit Quito? The only conclusion possible is that Niza had met Pizarro earlier, say in 1531 or 1532. See the sworn testimony of Niza, never referred to by Barrenechea, in "Información hecha en Santiago de Guatemala

sobre el concierto celebrado entre el Adelantado D. Pedro de Alvarado y el Mariscal D. Diego de Almagro, para el descubrimiento y conquista de tierras. Santiago de Guatemala, 28 de Septiembre de 1536." AGI, *Patronato*, 2-2-1/1, ramo 66.

43. Diego de Córdoba y Salinas, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 f.

44. Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, *Becerro General Menológico y Cronológico de la Provincia del santo Evangelio desde su fundación hasta el presente año de 1764*, as quoted in Henry Raup Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest* (Albuquerque, 1937), p. 46.

45. Wadding, *op. cit.*, XVI, 358.

46. Diego de Mendoza, *Chronica de la Provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas en el Reyno del Peru* (n.p., n.d.), p. 10. The frontispiece is dated 1664.

47. Pedro Ruiz Naharro, "Relación de los hechos de los españoles en el Perú desde su descubrimiento hasta la muerte del Marqués Francisco Pizarro," in Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *et al.*, *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España* (112 vols.; Madrid, 1842-1895), XXVI, 232-256. (Hereafter referred to as *CDIHE*.) Naharro says that in 1533, Pizarro founded Cuzco where he set aside lots for the Dominicans and the Franciscans, "que ya por este tiempo habían entrado el R. P. Comisario fray Marcos de Niza y sus compañeros" (p. 250). Later, Naharro states that to convert Peru, "tomó su Divina Magestad por instrumento doze sólos religiosos pobres, desvalidos y desconocidos: cinco del orden de la Merced; cuatro de Predicadores y tres de San Francisco. . ." (p. 255). A beautiful gradation. Naharro was a Mercedarian who took part in the movement begun by his Order about 1630 which aimed to convince the Crown

“Anonymous Relation” gives him eleven.⁴⁸ Probably the oldest and the best available authority is Fray Luis de San Gil, who testified under oath that the original group, arriving with the first Spanish soldiers, numbered twelve.⁴⁹ Fray Luis had known intimately the Franciscans

that the Mercedarians had played an important role in the conversion of America. In return, the Order hoped to share in some of the royal favors already bestowed on the Augustinians, Dominicans and Franciscans. As noted above (note 11, page 6), Muñoz accused Naharro of forgery in connection with another document in his “*Apología de la Verdad*.” The information quoted here was taken from another chapter of the same work and hence cannot be considered too reliable.

48. “*America Austral*.” BNM, MS 2950. According to a notation at the beginning of the manuscript this is the “segunda parte del tratado quinto,” and hence it is only a small part of a much larger work which has been lost. It is evident from the contents that the work was written by a Franciscan in Spain towards the end of the seventeenth century. The part which has been preserved treats exclusively of the Franciscans in Peru. The contents substantially are merely a paraphrase of the *Corónica* of Fray Diego de Córdoba. A more complete description of this manuscript may be found in Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscritos Peruanos en las Bibliotecas del Extranjero* (“Biblioteca Peruana,” I [Lima, 1935]), 259 f. The anonymous author of this manuscript thinks that the missing companion of Niza was either Fray Jodoco Ricke or Fray Pedro Goçal (fol. 65). This is a mere supposition on his part and is not admissible. On July 19, 1532, Fray Jodoco Ricke was granted permission to leave Spain for Mexico, according to the royal cedula published by Jijón y Caamaño (*Benalcázar*, I, Documentos, p. 183). If, notwithstanding this late date, Ricke proved to be one of the twelve companions of Niza, it would seem to follow that Córdoba y Salinas and Wadding had erred regarding the date of the arrival of the first Franciscans in Peru. Trujillo, *op. cit.*, p. 53, says that Fray Jodoco arrived at Túmbez while Pizarro was still in that city, or before May 15, 1532. While the narrative of this chronicler inspires great respect, it should be remembered that he wrote his account in 1571. It would not be surprising if his memory had become slightly confused after the lapse of so many years.

49. “Declaracion del Padre Fray Luis de San Gil. Lima, 13 de Abril de 1620,” in “*Informaciones jurídicas de las vidas de los varones ilustres en santidad de la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles de Lima*.” BNL, registro 35, fols. 1-8b; formerly registro 35 of the Archivo del Convento de San Francisco de Lima. (Hereafter these depositions will be referred to in this way: “Declaracion del Padre Fray Luis de San Gil.” BNL, registro 35, fols. 1-8b.) These “informaciones jurídicas” were begun in 1620 by Fray Diego de Córdoba y Salinas at the command of Fray Francisco de Herrera, then Commissary General of Peru, who was displeased at the negligence of the friars who had failed to preserve an archival record of their past activities: “. . . nos ha dado particular cuidado ver el descuido que hasta aqui ha avido en hazer memoria de los varones ilustres en santidad, letras y gobierno que en las dichas provincias han florecido y de las cossas notables que en el discurso de los tiempos passados han sucedido. . . .” “*Patente del M.R.P. Fray Francisco de Herrera a Fray Diego de Córdoba y Salinas*,” Lima, March 12, 1620. BNL, registro 35, número 2. As a result of this directive, Fray Diego received the sworn depositions of all the older friars still alive in 1620 and thus really began the archives of the Franciscan province of Lima. These depositions also formed the main source of Córdoba’s own *Corónica*.

The pertinent part of the statement of Fray Luis de San Gil is: “Digo yo, Fray Luis de San Gil Sacerdote y confesor, que soy de edad de setenta y cinco años, y que tengo de avito sesenta años y que soy natural de la Nueva España de la ciudad de México y declaro que todo lo que en todo este mi dicho y declaracion dijese, que lo vide ocularmente y las que no pude ver las supe por publica fama y que corria entonces como cosa comun y que no avia dubda y como tal las supe y entendí. . . . Digo que en el tiempo de la conquista deste Reyno quando al principio vinieron los españoles a el, vinieron con ellos doce frayles de nuestra sagrada orden . . . de las provincias de España, escogidos santos frayles entre sacerdotes y legos. . . . Destos doce frayles que vinieron al principio fueron los mas dellos a los Charcas

of Lima since 1553. He joined the Order in the Peruvian capital in 1559 and subsequently labored in present Bolivia with one of the pioneer friars, Juan de Monzón.⁵⁰ There is no reason to suspect his honesty. At this time his words shall have to decide the number of friars with Niza.

As regards the names of Niza's companions, some are mentioned quite independently by all authorities. Thus the four friars named by Fray Buenaventura de Salinas⁵¹ in 1630 are found among the six listed by Wadding⁵² writing at about the same time in Rome, while Wadding's six are found among the ten furnished by Fray Diego de Córdoba.⁵³

Salinas

Fray Francisco de los Angeles
 Fray Pedro Portugués
 Fray Francisco de la Cruz
 Fray Francisco de Santana

Wadding

Fray Juan de Monzón
 Fray Mateo de Jumilla
 Fray Francisco de los Angeles
 Fray Francisco de la Cruz
 Fray Francisco de Santana
 Fray Pedro Portugués

Córdoba

Fray Juan de Monzón
 Fray Francisco de los Angeles
 Fray Francisco de la Cruz
 Fray Francisco de Santana
 Fray Pedro Portugués
 Fray Alonso de Escarena
 Fray Francisco de Marchena
 Fray Francisco de Aragón
 Fray Mateo de Jumilla
 Fray Alonso de Alcanizes

Perhaps Pablo Pastells, S.J., has found the complete list of the friars who came with Niza. Quoting evidently from some unidentified document, he lists the same friars as given above by Córdoba and adds the names of two lay brothers, Fray Pedro Cabellos and Fray Antonio de

y Potosí. Destos era el uno el Padre Fray Juan de Mongón, sacerdote y confesor, al qual conozi yo. . . ."

50. Unfortunately, Fray Diego de Córdoba, who was taking the deposition, apparently did not ask the names of some of the others.

51. Buenaventura de Salinas, *Memorial*

de las Historias del Nuevo Mundo: Piru (Lima, 1630), Discurso 2, capítulo v.

52. Wadding, *op. cit.*, XVI, 358.

53. Diego de Córdoba, *Corónica*, p. 109. Córdoba states that Niza came with twelve companions, but he gives the names of only ten.

Haro.⁵⁴ Since the same names are found in another list published by Manuel de Odriozola,⁵⁵ it is probable that the twelve friars spoken of by Fray Luis de San Gil have been identified.

It is not known whether any Franciscans accompanied Pizarro on the march inland to Cajamarca, or whether they remained on the coast with the rear guard under the command of Benalcázar. Some Franciscans apparently arrived in Cajamarca before the execution of the Inca in July, 1533, where they may have helped to instruct and comfort the sovereign before he died.⁵⁶ We know, however, that after the death of Atahualpa and the reorganization of the Spanish expeditionary force, all but two of the Franciscans who were at Cajamarca advanced with the army. Fray Mateo de Jumilla remained to care for the natives of Cajamarca and its environs,⁵⁷ while Father Alonso de Escarena went to work among the Indians of Lambayeque.⁵⁸

When Pizarro formally founded the Spanish city of Cuzco in March, 1534, he set aside some lots on which the friars could build a residence,⁵⁹ but Fray Pedro Portugués refused this ground and instead constructed a small residence on a hill close to the city.⁶⁰ In the same year a residence

54. Pastells' quotation from the unidentified document is as follows: ". . . en igual fecha [i.e., November, 1531] aproximadamente, llegaron los primeros misioneros franciscanos, en numero de 13, es a saber: Fray Marcos de Niza. . ." See Roberto Levillier, *Organización de la Iglesia y Ordenes Religiosas en el Virreinato del Perú en el Siglo XVI* (2 vols.; Madrid, 1919), I, L. The long preface to this work was written by Pablo Pastells, S.J.

into a church: ". . . con pocas modificaciones se transformó en iglesia de nuestro Padre San Francisco. . ." (p. 111).

Francisco de Jerez, *Verdadera Relación de la Conquista del Perú y Provincia del Cuzco llamada la Nueva Castilla*, ed. by Horacio H. Urteaga (Paris, 1938), p. 105, speaks of friars attending the funeral of Atahualpa. Yet only one Dominican was then present in Peru, namely Padre Valverde. The others could very well have been Franciscans, but Jerez does not specify.

57. Odriozola, *op. cit.*, IV, 390.

58. *Ibid.*, 391.

59. Mendoza, *Chrónica*, pp. 41 f. It should be mentioned that in the official records of the distribution of lots in Cuzco in March and October, 1534, there is no record of any lots having been assigned to the Franciscans. See Raúl Porras Barrenechea, "El Acta Perdida de la Fundación del Cuzco," *Revista Histórica*, XVII (1948), 74-95; also, Horacio H. Urteaga, *La Fundación Española del Cusco* (Lima, 1926), pp. 35-45. On the other hand, Mendoza's information may still be correct. If the official record is silent regarding any grant to the Franciscans, it is equally silent regarding grants to the Dominicans and the Mercedarians. Yet the Dominican Valverde was certainly present with Pizarro at the founding of the city of Cuzco.

60. Mendoza, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

56. This is the opinion of Alberto María Torres, O.P., *El Padre Valverde* (Quito, 1932), pp. 111 f. Torres states also that Pizarro converted a temple of the sun situated on the celebrated plaza of Cajamarca

was begun in Santiago de Quito,⁶¹ and temporary residences were established in the towns of Jauja⁶² and Pachacamac,⁶³ as these in turn were selected by Pizarro as the possible sites for his capital. On January 18, 1535, Pizarro definitely located the capital of his jurisdiction on the spot where the city of Lima now stands. One Franciscan of the original twelve, Fray Francisco de la Cruz, assisted at the act of foundation and claimed the lot set aside for the Franciscans.⁶⁴ Here a primitive shelter sufficient to afford protection against the mild weather was erected, and divine services were held. By November, 1535, a lay brother

61. This is evident from the "Poder de Fray Marcos de Niza a favor del señor Mariscal. Santiago de Quito, 29 de Agosto de 1534." (See Appendix II.) Early in 1535 this residence was transferred to the newly founded San Francisco de Quito, the present capital of Ecuador.

62. Mendoza, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

63. "Porque luego que Pizarro fundava a Lima, el año de 1535, vinieron nuestros frailes de Pachacamac donde ya tenian convento . . . y el Padre Fray Francisco de la Cruz pidio sitio. . . ." Salinas, *Memorial*, Discurso 2, capítulo v. Some have ridiculed as a legend this assertion that the Franciscans had a residence in Pachacamac at this early date. But Buenaventura de Salinas was not the kind of man who would perpetuate legends. At the same time, Salinas had exceptional opportunities to find out the truth. He had been placed, at the age of nine, in the service of the viceroys of Peru, beginning with Velasco, and rose gradually in the service until at twenty-four he became the secretary of Viceroy Montesclaros. Thus Buenaventura or Sancho de Salinas, as he was known when he was secretary, had free access to the archives of the viceregal government, and much of the historical information which he included in his later works is thought to have been gained during this time. See Rubén Vargas Ugarte, S.J., *Historia del Perú: Fuentes* (Lima, 1945), p. 286. Antonio de la Calancha, *Corónica Moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú*, I (Barcelona, 1639), 408, ridicules the thought that the Franciscans had a residence in Pachacamac in 1535, largely because one of the basic purposes of his chronicle was to prove that the Augustinians were the first friars to arrive in Peru. Actually they had not yet come in 1535. The Franciscans, he says, were in Pachacamac only in 1550, and he even gives the location of their residence to prove his point: ". . . tuvo casa en Pachacamac la inclita orden seráfica

cerca de la puente, distante de la guaca; despobláronla." However, although the Franciscans were laboring in Pachacamac and its vicinity in 1550, the cacique of that pueblo, Luis Luyán, denied that the Franciscans had a residence there at that time. Could it be that Calancha found the site of the Franciscan residence of 1535 and confused the dates to suit his preconceptions? See "Informe de D. Luis Luyán, caízque en el pueblo de Pachacamac y Chosna durante la visita que por orden del Exemo. Sr. D. Francisco de Toledo, Bisorrey y Gobernador, se manda hacer por lo tocante a la doctrina y buen tratamiento de los yndios, pueblo de Pachacamac y Chosna," September 19, 1573, in Enrique Torres Saldamando, *Libro Primero de Cabillos de Lima, Segunda Parte* (Paris, 1900), pp. 278-280. Rubén Vargas Ugarte reprints this "Informe." See Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscritos Peruanos en las Bibliotecas de América* (Biblioteca Peruana, IV [Buenos Aires, 1945], 85 f.)

64. Juan Bromley, *La Fundación de la Ciudad de los Reyes* (Lima, 1935), p. 138. Bromley says that Fray Francisco de la Cruz received "solar I de la cuadra novena." However, Fray Diego de Córdoba in a certified statement notes that in an old document which had been loaned to him by Bernabé Cobo, S.J., it was stated specifically that Pizarro gave the Franciscans two lots. See "Certificación del repartimiento primitivo de solares entre los pobladores de Lima." Archivo de San Francisco de Jesus de Lima (hereafter referred to as ASFL), registro 30A, número 1, fol. 1. Cobo included this document in his *Historia de la Fundación de Lima, Monografías Históricas sobre la ciudad de Lima*, I (Lima, 1935), 43.

For a solid discussion of the frequently conflicting statements of Cobo and Saldamando concerning the foundation of Lima, see Bromley, *op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff.

had joined Fray Francisco de la Cruz at this first residence in Lima.⁶⁵

The new convent adjoined that of the Dominicans, and Pizarro soon realized that this was a mistake. Apparently the Dominicans agreed with him, for during a brief absence of Fray Francisco from the city, the Dominicans, with the permission of the governor, took over the land.⁶⁶ Pizarro now ordered the city council to purchase the eight lots which adjoined his pleasure garden along the Rimac River.⁶⁷ These were turned over to the Franciscans and formally occupied by Fray Francisco de la Cruz in 1536;⁶⁸ but it seems that no building was erected on this new site at that time.

Early in 1536, Fray Francisco de la Cruz was displaced by two other priests, Fray Francisco de Marchena, who had succeeded Marcos de Niza in the office of *custodio*, and Fray Francisco de Aragón.⁶⁹ Upon

65. ". . . de frailes Franciscos no hay sino uno (al margen de letra del Obispo: dos, un sacerdote y un lego) . . ." "Testimonio de los cargos que Fray Tomas de Berlanga, Obispo de Tierra Firme, hizo a D. Francisco de Pizarro en la ciudad de los Reyes a 6 de Noviembre de 1535 i de los descargos dados en el 13 del mismo mes," NYPL, Rich 2, fol. 486. The printed version of this *testimonio* does not include this marginal note of the bishop and states only: ". . . de los padres de San Francisco bien sabe que no hay sino uno. . . ." CDIHE, X, 330 f. However, Bishop Berlanga repeats his former assertion that there were two Franciscans in Lima in November, 1535, in a letter written a few months later. See "Carta del Obispo de Tierra Firme, D. Tomás de Berlanga, a S.M.," Nombre de Dios, February 3, 1536, in Roberto Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú* (14 vols.; Madrid, 1921-1926), II, 42 f. The passage of Fray Francisco de la Cruz and nine friar companions was paid by the royal treasury on September 30, 1519. See NYPL, Rich 2, fol. 177. The destination was the island of Espanola. In 1531 Fray Francisco de la Cruz came from Santo Domingo to Peru. See Francisco Díaz a S. Bonaventura, *Relatio Missionum Occidentalium sub Vexillis Seraphici Instituti* (Roma, 1700), p. 516. In September, 1546, he was still the guardian of the Franciscan residence in Trujillo. See "Carta de Fray Jodoco Ricke a Licenciado Cepeda," Quito, September 25, 1546. BRM, MS 1960. 2.

66. "Testimonio de D. Nicolas de Rivera, el Mozo" in "Pleito sobre los terrenos del convento del señor San Francisco contra Sebastian Sanchez de Merlo," Lima, April 6, 1546, ASFL, registro 30A, fols. 121-124.

(Since there will be several references to this lawsuit, hereafter it will be cited as "Pleito sobre terrenos.") According to this eyewitness, the Dominicans came to Lima during the brief absence of Fray Francisco de la Cruz. When they arrived, Pizarro gave them the lot which had been set aside for them earlier plus the one already entrusted to the Franciscans. At the time he promised to make other provision for the Franciscans. From this account it would seem that no Dominican was present at the actual founding of the city, and Bromley may be in error when he states that Fray Juan de Olías took part in that ceremony. Bromley, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

67. "Testimonio de Fray Fernando, novicio de Santo Domingo" in "Pleito sobre terrenos," ASFL, registro 30A, fol. 113.

68. "Testimonio de D. Francisco La Feria" in "Pleito sobre terrenos," ASFL, registro 30A, fols. 117 f. La Feria was present at the legal ceremony of taking possession and states that the proceedings were recorded by the notary Pinto. Hernán Pinto purchased the office of notary in Lima from Alonso de Silva for 350 pesos on September 30, 1535. See "Índice del 'Libro Primero de Escrituras,'" *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú* (RANP), XVII (1944), 69. Unfortunately only fragments remain of the first part of the record book of this notary. The earliest extant record bears the date of February 28, 1536. See *ibid.*, XV (1942), 220. Apparently then the lots were transferred to Fray Francisco de la Cruz sometime between October, 1535, and the end of February, 1536.

69. Benjamín Gento Sanz, *San Francisco de Lima* (Lima, 1945), p. 73, seems to deny that Marchena was *custodio* in Lima in

his arrival, Marchena apparently decided not to accept the lots already assigned and occupied within Lima, but instead to erect a convent beyond the rough city walls. At least this is the only reasonable interpretation which can be placed on the words of Fray Luis de San Gil, who mentions three residences of the Franciscans in Lima: the first next to the Dominicans; the second, a small *recoleta* or hermitage outside the walls; and the third where San Francisco stands at the present time.⁷⁰ Very likely, it was the hermitage which was abandoned by the friars when the Indians attacked Lima during the rebellion of April, 1536.⁷¹ Lima itself

1536. However all the early authorities on the beginnings of the Franciscans in Peru agree that Marchena did occupy that office in Lima in 1536. Perhaps Marchena and Aragón were the two friars who fled Lima in 1536 during the Indian rebellion; thereafter the *custodio* may have resided in Quito, as Gento seems to desire. See Francisco Gonzaga, *De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae* (Roma, 1587), p. 1312. Also Diego de Córdoba, *op. cit.*, p. 54; and Buenaventura de Salinas, *op. cit.*, Discurso 2, capítulo v. This information is repeated in Francisco Díaz a S. Bonaventura, *Relatio Missionum Occidentalium sub Vexillis Seraphici Instituti* (Roma, 1700), p. 516. Since Díaz wrote at such a late date, his work would normally be considered to have been compiled from the earlier authors and hence of less value. However, because of the many official positions which this friar occupied in Spain and in Rome, he had access to many documents which have since disappeared. His work reveals that he made use of his opportunities to consult the original sources, and hence I quote him here. For an excellent evaluation of the worth of Díaz' writings, see Lino Gómez Canedo, "El P. F. Díaz de S. Buenaventura," *Liceo Franciscano* (reprint), IV (1951), 5.

70. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Luis de San Gil," BNL, registro 35, fol. 1: "... dos destos [the first twelve Franciscans] vinieron a hacer convento a Lima y lo fundaron donde agora esta el convento de Santo Domingo. . . . Despues de algun tiempo se mudo este convento adonde agora esta y permanece. Era casa recoleta y se mudo porque estuviésemos dentro de la ciudad, que el otro primero estaba fuera della. . . ." From these words of San Gil, which are repeated by Gonzaga (*op. cit.*, p. 1312), it is clear that one of the primitive residences of the Franciscans of Lima was located outside the walls of that city. The site of the

present and third residence is and always has been within the walls. The first was on the spot where the church and convent of Santo Domingo now stand. The words of Fray Luis would seem to indicate that he thought that site was outside the walls. However, this was hardly possible since Santo Domingo was and is only a block from the *plaza mayor* and from the palace of Pizarro himself. It is hardly credible that the limits of even primitive Lima were drawn on so constricted a scale or that the Dominicans would have been anxious to claim a site which was located outside the city. Hence, I have interpreted the words of Fray Luis to mean that there was a third convent, "casa recoleta" which was outside the walls (where such hermitages were ordinarily located). This interpretation is confirmed, as shall be seen, by the fact that there were Franciscans at Lima in April, 1536. By that time the Franciscans had lost the site near the Dominicans, they had acquired a new one near the pleasure gardens of Pizarro, but they had not erected a home on it. Where then were they living in April, 1536, if not in the only other residence mentioned, the "casa recoleta" outside the walls?

71. It is certain that two Franciscans departed from Lima as a result of the attacks of the Indians in April, 1536. See Fernando de Montesinos, *Annales del Perú* (2 vols.; Madrid, 1906), I, 91. For a good account of the background of the Indian rebellion and of the ferocity of the Indian attacks on Lima and Cuzco in 1536, see George Kubler, "A Peruvian Chief of State: Manco Inca, 1515-1545," *Hispanic American Historical Review* (HAHR), XXIV (1944), 253-276. However, the motive for the departure of the Franciscans is a matter of dispute. Montesinos says merely that the Franciscans asked Pizarro for permission to leave and that this request was granted. Fray Reginaldo de Lizárraga, *Descripción*

seemed ready to fall to the determined natives, and there is no reason to suspect that anything outside the city boundaries could have been spared. The Franciscans, in any event, did not return to Lima until 1545.

During the period of 1537-1545, Quito became the headquarters of the Franciscans in Peru. In 1538, Fray Jodoco Ricke, one of the great pioneers of the Church and of civilization within the boundaries of modern Ecuador, was elected *custodio*,⁷² and, as far as is known, he continued in that office to the end of the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro in 1548. During that decade numerous friars⁷³ arrived in Peru to share in the labors of instruction and conversion of the natives.⁷⁴ As the

y Población de las Indias (Lima, 1908), pp. 28 f., on the other hand, states that the Franciscans were in reality expelled by Pizarro because of the cowardice shown at the time of the attacks by one of the friars, who wished to take refuge in the ships then in the harbor of Callao. While it may have been true that one of the Franciscans was a coward, it is also certain that Pizarro himself at one time considered taking to the ships and abandoning the country. See Jijón y Caamaño, *Benalcázar*, I, Documentos, 194, "Relación de varios sucesos de la Conquista del Perú." In this account by an eyewitness is the following statement: "... tuvieron por cierto que los otros capitanes y su gente eran muertos . . . y el gobernador quiso meterse en los navios que allí estaban y dejar la tierra. . ." Lizárraga also maintains that Pizarro swore that henceforth no Franciscan would be permitted to reside within his jurisdiction. This statement can hardly be true, for when Pizarro returned to Lima after suppressing the rebellion of Almagro, someone called his attention to the fact that he had given the lots reserved for the Franciscans to Antonio Picado. Pizarro however insisted that he had given the site to Picado only conditionally and when the friars returned they were to have the assigned lots. See "Testimonio de D. Nicolas de Rivera, el Viejo," in "Pleito sobre terrenos," ASFL, registro 30A, fols. 111 f. All in all, the interpretation that the Franciscans in April, 1536, were living in a small hermitage outside the city and without protection against the Indian attacks seems best to fit the facts as they are known today.

72. Diego de Córdoba, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

73. José María Vargas, O.P., *La Conquista Espiritual del Imperio de los Incas* (Quito, 1948), p. 175, says that forty-five Franciscans arrived in Peru within the decade 1540-1550, while Francisco Mateos,

S.J., "Los Dos Concilios Limenses de Jerónimo de Loaysa," *Missionalia Hispanica*, IV (1947), 488, states that eighty-three Franciscans came to Peru within that same period: twelve in 1541, twelve in 1544, forty-eight in 1545 and eleven in 1549. Vargas says that nineteen arrived in 1545 and twenty-six in 1547. There is duplication in these lists only for the year 1545. Did therefore one hundred and nine or one hundred and twenty-eight Franciscans come during that decade? It is evident that much research still remains to be done in early Peruvian Church history.

An admirable piece of research has just been completed by Lino G. Canedo, O. F. M. New material discovered in the archives of Seville has enabled Canedo to make a solid contribution to the history of the beginnings of the Franciscan province of Lima. In particular, many questions concerning the activities of Fray Francisco de Vitoria in Mexico and Peru receive well-documented consideration. The author gives documentary proof that 117 friars sailed from Spain for Peru between 1544 and 1550. Since Canedo gathered his data exclusively from the archives of Spain, he was not able to discover the number of Franciscans who had gone to Peru from other American countries, such as Mexico, before the close of the year 1550. (See Lino G. Canedo, "New Data Regarding the Origins of the Franciscan Missions in Peru," *The Americas*, IX [January, 1953], 315-348.)

74. Since Fray Jodoco Ricke resided in Quito and was consequently more familiar with the problems of that region, it is hardly surprising that he should have assigned the majority of the incoming friars to that area. The Franciscans in the Quito region therefore were able to staff perhaps the majority of all the *doctrinas* which existed in those first decades in the territory

number of priests increased, Ricke planned to reoccupy the site granted to the Franciscans in Lima by Pizarro in 1536. This was accomplished on August 28, 1545, when Fray Francisco de Santana was named guardian of Lima.⁷⁵

When Santana arrived in the City of the Kings, the eight lots in question had already been sold to three citizens of Lima by Antonio

which was later to be known as Ecuador, while in present Peru the friars seem to have been accomplishing little. This lack of balance was corrected after 1548. In 1589, after the surrender in previous years of many *doctrinas* to the bishop, the friars of Quito still cared for thirty-one *doctrinas* which were central headquarters, each with several dependent *visitas*, or smaller *doctrinas*. "Memoria de todos los conventos de frayles y monjas, guardianias, vicarias, y doctrinas de yndios que hay en todas las provincias y custodias de los Reynos del Piru y de los frayles de la horden de nuestro padre san Francisco que hay en ellos y de la calidad que tienen" (hereafter referred to as "Memoria de todos los conventos"), British Museum, Additional MSS 13977.

75. "Patente del Custos P. Frater Jodocus Rique al Padre Fray Francisco de Santana," Quito, August 28, 1545, ASFL, registro 30A, fol. 8. This *patente* is printed in Benjamin Gento Sanz, *San Francisco de Lima* (Lima, 1945), pp. 341-344. Gento inserted a phrase in his translation of the original Latin which raised Quito to the rank of an independent custody with jurisdiction over Lima in 1545. The original *patente* reads in part: "Frater Jodocus Rique ejusdem Ordinis Custodiae Sancti Francisci Indianarum in Peru Custos . . ." A literal translation would be: "Brother Jodocus Rique of the same Order, Custos of the Custody of Saint Francis of the Indies in Peru. . ." To this Gento has added the phrase, *of Quito*, thus: "Brother Jodocus Rique of the same Order, Custos of the Custody of Saint Francis of Quito of the Indies in Peru. . ." See Gento, *op. cit.*, p. 344: "Fray Jodoco Ricke, de la misma orden, Custodio de la Custodia, de San Francisco de Quito de las Indias en el Perú. . ." (my italics) On the basis of this faulty translation, Gento glorified the superior position of Quito over Lima (*op. cit.*, pp. 77 f.). The phrasing of the *patente* appointing Fray Francisco de Santana superior in Lima is a little strange. If the words of the document are to be understood in their literal meaning, they would imply that there was a community

of friars already resident in Lima at the time of the appointment. The pertinent phrases are: ". . . in Guardianum Conventus nominis Jesu de Lima promovimus. . . Et omnibus Patribus et Fratribus ibidem degentibus . . . ut tibi . . . in omnibus sincere pareant et obedient." (We appointed [you] guardian of the convent of the Name of Jesus of Lima. . . And we command all the Fathers and Brothers dwelling there that they should sincerely obey you in all things.) As far as is known, there was only one other friar in Lima at that time, Fray José de San Bartolomé; and one man does not constitute a community. See "Pleito sobre los terrenos," ASFL, registro 30A, fol. 9b. By a document of the same date and title ("Patente del Custos P. Frater Jodocus Rique al Padre Fray Francisco de Santana," Quito, August 28, 1545, ASFL, registro 30A, fol. 9), Ricke appointed Fray Francisco de Santana as his delegate, calling him in one place *Comisario* and in another *Comisario custodial*, to govern all the friars in the provinces of Madre de Dios, i.e., in Trujillo, Cuzco and Lima. What was meant by this second appointment is not clear. The name Madre de Dios was not used at that time for any political unit nor does it appear in any known document as the name of any religious unit. The only explanation seems to be that Ricke was planning the eventual separation of the friars of Trujillo, Cuzco and Lima from those of Quito and hoped to give the name of Madre de Dios to this future Franciscan province. Ricke himself did not have the power to form such a unit under the laws of the Franciscan Order, and there is little doubt that his action had the approval of the superiors in Europe, who did have the power, since in 1545 Ricke was cut off from contact with them by the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro. At any rate, this is the only time this name appears in the documents. Fray Francisco de Santana himself never used it. In the "Pleito sobre los terrenos," Santana uses as his legal title "Guardian de la casa del señor San Francisco," never "Comisario" or "Comisario custodial."

Picado, Pizarro's secretary.⁷⁶ The new owners, of course, did not wish to vacate, and Fray Francisco de Santana had quite a battle on his hands to regain the property. Most stubborn of all was Anna Suárez, Picado's widow, who refused to yield even after she had been shown the letters of patronage of Gonzalo Pizarro, then the illegal ruler of the country, who had taken the new convent under his protection and even wished to be buried in the convent church.⁷⁷ In order to settle the dispute, Santana appealed to the ecclesiastical court, which rendered a decision in his favor; the interlopers were ordered to vacate the site within three days.⁷⁸

By November, 1546, Fray Francisco de Santana had erected a residence and church, both certainly very primitive, on the place where the present convent and church of San Francisco now stand.⁷⁹ From that

76. "Pleito sobre los terrenos," ASFL, registro 30A, fol. 4. This statement is not quite correct, since one of the owners was Anna Suárez, the lady whom Picado had been permitted to marry just before his execution by the murderers of Francisco Pizarro in 1541. As Picado's widow, she inherited most of the secretary's property. The other two owners were Sebastián Sánchez de Merlo and Cristóval de Burgos. Merlo had been the secretary of Vaca de Castro and apparently married Anna Suárez at the suggestion of Castro. Burgos was one of the more prominent men in Lima and became a member of the city council. In 1551 the Dominican provincial reported to the crown that both Burgos and Merlo had been outstanding agents of Gonzalo Pizarro. See "Memorial del Provincial de la Orden de Santo Domingo en el Perú sobre los traidores y aliados de Gonzalo Pizarro, año de 1551," in Medina, *Collección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de Chile*, VII, 161 f. Despite this litigation with Santana, Burgos gave the Franciscans one hundred pesos in his will. "Testamento de Cristóval de Burgos," RANP, XI (1938), 104.

77. ". . . todos nos ayudan salvo la Señora Ana Suarez que dice que aun que le den mill pesos per ellos no los dara . . . Burgos dice que el dara su parte que le cabe sin pleyto. . . ." "Carta de Fray Francisco de Santana a Gonzalo Pizarro, Lima, 29 de Marzo de 1546." HL, La Gasca Papers, II, fol. 293.

78. The sentence was issued on April 14, 1546, and on April 17 the three occupants surrendered the property to Fray Francisco de Santana. Concerning the later litigations in connection with the orchard

and the buildings on this disputed property, see Gento Sanz, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 ff.

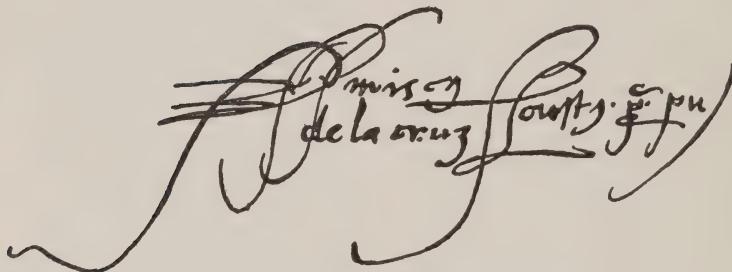
79. This is evident from the fact that in November, 1546, 30,000 gold pesos which had been hidden earlier in the Franciscan church were discovered by the agents of Gonzalo Pizarro, then supreme ruler of Peru. This money had been hidden by one Juan de la Torre, who had hoped to use it to persuade General Francisco Velásquez Vela Núñez, brother of the viceroy whom Gonzalo had slain earlier, to take part in an attempt to flee the country contrary to the orders of Gonzalo Pizarro. The plot was uncovered and Gonzalo had the general executed. Fray Francisco de Santana was banished from the country because he had not prevented the concealment of the money in his church. Nothing was done to Juan de la Torre. There is a strong suspicion that Torre was an agent of Gonzalo, who was desirous to be rid of the general, because he might have become a rallying point for counterrevolutionary elements. See *Verdadera Relacion de lo susodicho en los Reynos e Provincia del Peru desde la yda a ellos del Virey Blasco Nunes Vela hasta el desbarato y muerte de Gonzalo Pizarro* (Sevilla, 1549), no pagination; and "Carta de Fray Francisco de Santana a S. M.," Panama, February 18, 1547, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, II, 365 f. A little earlier, Fray Francisco de Santana had written to Gonzalo Pizarro protesting his innocence and his loyalty to the rebel leader. See "Carta de Fray Francisco de Santana a Gonzalo Pizarro," Puerto de Payta, December 21, 1546. HL, La Gasca Papers, II, 292b.: ". . . yo he halgado de cumplir con entero animo lo que me dezian que Vuestra

time the Franciscans have continued to live and work in the City of the Kings without interruption. The Lima residence was also one of the last, if not the last, of the convents established in Peru while Fray Jodoco Ricke served as *custodio*. At the end of that period in 1548, there were within the limits of the present country of Peru only three Franciscan convents: Cuzco, Lima and Trujillo; certainly a modest number.⁸⁰

Señoria deseaba que hiziese que hera salir de la tierra y aunque yo della salgo donde quiera que fuere me nombrare ser capellan y verdadero amigo de Vuestra Señoria. . . .

80. The latter residence had been established in February (?), 1536, by Fray

Francisco de la Cruz after he had departed from Lima. See Marco A. Cabero, "El Corregimiento de Saña y la Fundación de Trujillo," *Revista Histórica*, I (Lima, 1906), 357.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Francisco de la Cruz" followed by initials "F. G. P." The signature is fluid and cursive, with the name "Francisco" and "de la Cruz" being the most legible parts.

Foundation of the Franciscan Province of Lima



THE REBELLION OF GONZALO PIZARRO, begun in 1544, for a time threatened to disrupt the normal progress of Peru. In the end, however, the suppression of the rebellion in 1548 by President La Gasca marked the beginning of a period of new advances both for the colony and for the Franciscans. La Gasca had been appointed by the Crown to reorganize not only the political but the religious life of the colony as well. During the rebellion some Franciscans had served La Gasca well as spies and "fifth columnists" within the territory controlled by the rebels.¹ Three other friars, Fray Luis de Oña, Jerónimo de Villacarrillo and Francisco de Morales, then at work in Charcas, had been in correspondence with the President for some time before the final victory.² Still other Franciscans accompanied La Gasca on his march through Jauja to meet Gonzalo Pizarro in the final battle of Xaquixaguana.³ It was only natural that in the reorgani-

1. La Gasca hoped to weaken the morale of the rebels by sending friars within their lines with copies of the full amnesty which the Crown had granted to all rebels who would submit. Francisco de Carvajal, "the Demon of the Andes," realized the great damage which was resulting to the rebel cause from this activity of the friars and suggested that any friar who was apprehended while employed in this way should be torn limb from limb. Fortunately for the friars this advice was never acted upon by Gonzalo. For a specific instance regarding three friars apprehended in Quito with compromising letters and correspondence on their persons, see "Carta de Pedro de Puelles a Gonzalo Pizarro." Quito, November 28, 1546. HL, La Gasca Papers, I, fol. 356. The Dominicans were more valuable to La Gasca in this way than the Franciscans.

2. "Tengo satisfacion de un Villacarrillo y Fray Francisco de Morales religiosos de sant Francisco . . . y Fray Fulano Oña. . . ." "Borrador de la carta del Licenciado La

Gasca al Consejo de Indias." Lima, January 25, 1550. HL, La Gasca Papers, I, fol. 363. This Fray Fulano Oña was really Fray Luis de Oña who was to become the first provincial of the Franciscan province of Lima. He was a maestro and a famous preacher of his time. In 1544 while in Panama, he had been severely beaten by Hernando Bachicao, one of the brutal captains of Gonzalo Pizarro. See Francisco María Compte, *Defensa del Padre Fray Jodoco Ricke* (Quito, 1882), p. 27. Perhaps La Gasca had been in contact with the three friars named by means of letters. It is strange that when one of La Gasca's agents, Fray Pedro de Ulloa, O. P., was captured by Gonzalo's men and taken to Lima he had with him "tres cartas para ciertos frailes de San Francisco." "Relación de lo que pasó á Fray Pedro de Ulloa." *CDIHE*, XLIX, 232.

3. "Carta del Licenciado La Gasca al Consejo de Indias." Jauja, December 27, 1547. *CDIHE*, XLIX, 318.

zation these loyal men would not be overlooked, while such partisans of the rebels as the *custodio* Fray Jodoco Ricke⁴ would be excluded from positions of authority. At the same time, as a result of La Gasca's political measures, it was clear that Lima was to be the administrative center of the area; it was natural under the circumstances that Lima and not Quito or Cuzco would also become the residence of the religious superiors.

Fortunately during La Gasca's sojourn in Lima, either late in 1549 or in January, 1550, the first Franciscan Commissary General of Peru, Fray Francisco de Vitoria, perhaps at the urging of the President, arrived in the Capital from New Spain.⁵ Vitoria was acquainted with the problems of Peru since he had worked there before returning to Spain in 1548 to enlist volunteers.⁶ Vitoria came back to Lima not only with a large band of friars but also with the commission to organize the Franciscans of that area into a province. As Fray Luis de San Gil states:

... I knew well Father Fray Francisco de Vitoria, who came here from New Spain as Commissary General. . . . He was the first Commissary General who came to these kingdoms, and he erected this province, for up to that time this province of Lima had been a custody of New Spain. A chapter was held in which Fray Luis de Oña was elected provincial. . . .⁷

4. Though Ricke's connivance is denied by some, especially by Compte, it seems that the friars of the time thought that Fray Jodoco was too friendly to the cause of the rebels. See "Carta de Pedro de Puelles a Gonzalo Pizarro," Quito, December 11, 1546. HL, La Gasca Papers, I, fol. 361b: "... yo tengo al frayle [one of the Franciscan spies sent by La Gasca and captured by Captain Puelles] preso en buen cepo y mandado por Fray Jodoco so pena de excomunion que no hable a nadie ni nadie a el. Fray Jodoco en este negocio le va mucho porque traen instruccion que lo echen de la tierra a el y a quantos frayles hay en ella. Vuestra Señoria embie a mandar lo que se haga de este frayle. Porque si dierra los pedaños de la carta, Fray Jodoco le dara poder para ir a Panama y que detubiese alli todos los frayles que viniesen de Castilla. . . ." Concerning the attitude of Fray Jodoco Ricke during the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, see also Servais Dirks, *Biografías de tres Ilustres Misioneros en América y África: Fray Pedro de Gante, Fray Josse de Rycke y Fray Pedro Farde* (n.p., 1876). We were not able to consult this work but did use the review of Antonio María Fabié in *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, III (Madrid, 1883), 9-13. Fabié (*op.*

cit., p. 9) says in part: "Durante las guerras a que puso término con su prudencia y energía el Licenciado La Gasca, hizo el Padre Rycke gran papel no siempre favorable a los representantes de la autoridad del Emperador, pués como la mayor parte del clero secular y regular, siguió a los principios y favoreció la causa de Gonzalo Pizarro. . . ."

5. "... en esta figura [religioso bueno y zeloso] tengo al Padre Comisario que de la Nueva España agora ha venido. . . ." "Borrador de la carta del Licenciado La Gasca al Consejo de Indias." Lima, January 25, 1550. HL, La Gasca Papers, I, fol. 363. According to La Gasca, the *Comisario* was a member of the same order as Villacarrillo and Oña, i.e., he was a Franciscan.

6. "Real Cédula del Príncipe al Padre General de la Orden de San Francisco." Valladolid, August 7, 1548, in Levillier, *Organización*, I, 28 f.

7. "Item, conosci mucho al Padre Fray Francisco de Vitoria que vino por Comisario General de la Nueva España . . . fue el primer Comisario General que paso a estos Reynos y hizo provincia esta porque entonces era esta provincia de Lima custodia de la Nueva España. Tubo su capítulo y en el saco por provincial al Padre Fray Luys de Oña. . . ." "Declaracion del Padre

There is no firsthand account which describes the actual founding of the Peruvian province. Mendiburu,⁸ following Diego de Córdoba,⁹ says that the chapter which elected Oña was held in 1553. Two royal cedulas, however, indicate that the king and his royal councilors believed that a Franciscan province existed in Lima before that date. The first, dated 1550 and addressed to the Franciscan provincial of Peru, ordered him to send friars to teach the Indians.¹⁰ The second, dated September 4, 1551, from Prince Philip to the same provincial, pointed out to him that there was a reasonable number of friars in Peru and that His Highness would send others.¹¹ (The latter cedula would seem to presuppose a prior communication from the provincial in which he had perhaps complained of a shortage of men and requested more.) These documents would lead us to conclude that the authorities in Spain at least thought that Vitoria had organized the province immediately after

Fray Luis de San Gil." BNL, registro 35, fol. 1b. Vitoria died in Lima and was buried in the primitive church, according to Fray Luis de San Gil. Hence he must have died sometime before the late autumn of 1555, when the second church was begun on the site of the original structure.

The aforementioned documents recently discovered by Lino G. Canedo (*The Americas*, IX, 334) controvert the statement made in the text that Fray Francisco de Vitoria arrived in Lima late in 1549 or early in 1550. The new documents show clearly that Vitoria was certainly still in Spain on May 15, 1550. By the beginning of October of that same year, Vitoria had arrived at Nombre de Dios; he was in Lima by January 23, 1551. It is quite evident from these notes that, contrary to San Gil's assertion, Vitoria came directly from Spain to Peru; he did not travel to Peru via Mexico. It is also evident that the *Padre Comisario* who had arrived in Lima from Mexico by January 23, 1550, to co-operate with La Gasca was not Vitoria, as La Gasca's words seem to indicate. It is very possible, as Canedo points out, that this *comisario* was Fray Antonio de Castilblanco, who is known to have been in Lima in 1550 with the title of *comisario de la orden de señor San Francisco* and who had formerly been in Mexico.

8. Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario Histórico-Biográfico del Perú*, XI (Lima, 1935), 304. Mendiburu says that the year was 1552, but he probably meant to say 1553, as does Diego de Córdoba whom he

quotes as the authority for his statement.

9. Diego de Córdoba, *op. cit.*, p. 464.

10. "El Rey al Provincial de la Orden de San Francisco. Manda que nombre personas de su orden que enseñen a los indios la lengua castellana y la religion cristiana. Año de 1550," in "Catálogo de papeles históricos y literarios españoles en la Biblioteca del Colegio de Wadham en la Universidad de Oxford. Registro de copias de papeles de Estado referentes a las Provincias del Perú," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, LXXVI (Madrid, 1920), 457.

11. ". . . en esas provincias del Peru ay razonable numero de religiosos y siempre nos tenemos cuidado de embiar mas a ellas. . ." "Real Cedula del Principe al Padre Provincial de la Orden de San Francisco de las Provincias del Peru." Valladolid, September 4, 1551. ASFL, registro 15, número 3. There are other indications that Oña may have been elected provincial before 1553. Thus Compte, *Defensa*, p. 88, publishes an official *provisión* of the Audiencia of Lima issued in that city on September 7, 1552, which states: ". . . Fray Luis de Oña, Provincial de la orden de Sant Francisco en los nuestros reinos del Perú. . ." Also the "Memoria sobre el Convento de Guamanga," written possibly in the year 1585 (ASIH, leg. 2/10), begins with these words: "Primeramente, el Convento de Guamanga se fundo en el año de 1551, siendo provincial primero de estos Reynos del Piru, el padre fray Luis de Oña. . . ."

his arrival in 1549 or 1550,¹² which would have been the natural procedure. If the province was established then, it is possible that the official confirmation of its establishment did not arrive until 1552 or 1553, and it may be that Córdoba accepted the year of the arrival of the confirmation as the date of the foundation of the province. In any event the provincial in Lima was then, and for some years continued to be, the immediate major superior of all the Franciscans in Spanish South America.¹³

12. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada thinks that the province was begun in 1548 or 1549, although he does not give a source for this statement. See his *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias, Perú* (4 vols.; Madrid, 1881-1897), I, 84, note a, where he writes: "... el Padre Fray Luis de Oña, primer provincial de franciscanos que hubo en el Perú, elegido en el capítulo de Lima de 1548 ó 1549, que reunió fray Francisco de Vitoria, comisario general venido de México."

The name of the province of Lima at the time of its erection was Province of the Twelve Apostles—the name first given to the *custodia* in 1532. On August 1, 1532, the General of the Franciscan Order, Francisco Pisoto, nominated Fray Francisco de Aragón to go to the lands of Pizarro with twelve companions to begin a custody of the Holy Apostles. (Wadding, *op. cit.*, XVI, 359.) On January 1, 1533, the commission was confirmed at the General Chapter of the Order held at Pointoise near Paris. (Torrubia, *op. cit.*, p. 76.) It is not known what happened either to Fray Francisco de Aragón and his companions or to the custody of the Holy Apostles; in 1535, when the custody was officially instituted, it was given the name simply of *Custodia del Perú*. (Michael Angelus de Neapoli, *op. cit.*, I, 266.) The few documents of this period known today attest that this title remained substantially unchanged until the foundation of the Province of the Twelve Apostles of Lima. There is no proof for a Custody of Quito or a Custody of Madre de Dios, as some authors have affirmed. In the "Carta de Fray Jodoco Ricke a Licenciado Cepeda," Quito, September 25, 1546, (BRM, MS 1960.2) Ricke signs himself simply as "Frater Jodocus Rique, Custos Peru." In this same letter, Ricke writes that the convent of Trujillo was under his jurisdiction; yet he is supposed to have incorporated that residence into the Custody of Madre de Dios in August, 1545, as noted above (see note 75). A Custody of Quito was begun

only after Lima had been formed into a province, and then it was made dependent upon the Province of the Twelve Apostles of Lima (Gonzaga, *op. cit.*, p. 1321). The Custody of Peru was immediately dependent upon the commissary general who resided in New Spain, though the only one who seems to have exercised his power with any vigor was Fray Martín Sarmiento de Hojacastro, who succeeded to the office in August, 1543, upon the death of Fray Jacobo de Tastera. Hojacastro sent delegates to Peru to inspect the work of the friars, correct abuses, and gather information. If these reports could be discovered, they would certainly add much to our knowledge of the conditions of the first friars in Peru. Gerónimo de Mendieta, *Historia Eclesiástica Indiana* (4 vols.; Mexico, 1941), libro quinto, primera parte, capítulo 47. Also Joaquín García Icazbalceta (ed.), *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México. Códice Franciscano, Siglo XVI* (Mexico, 1941), xiii.

13. This is denied by the Franciscans of Colombia, who maintain that the Custody of Santa Fe was never subject to the province of Lima. (Gregorio Arcila Robledo, "Origin of the Franciscan Order in Colombia," *The Americas*, V [1949], 394-410.) Despite the arguments adduced in favor of their thesis, it would seem that the Colombian custody was indeed dependent upon the province of Lima. If this were not true, why would the provincial of Lima and the commissary general of Peru have requested in 1563 that "the three custodies which are so distant and so far removed from this province that the provincial cannot visit them, should be raised to independent provinces"? The three custodies named by the Provincial, Fray Antonio de San Miguel, were Quito, Chile and Santa Fe. The custodies of Quito and Chile were definitely dependent upon the provincial of Lima, and there is no reason to suppose that Santa Fe was not. Fray Antonio de San Miguel surely knew the

The establishment of the headquarters of the provincial in Lima favored greatly the expansion of the Franciscan Order within the territory of present-day Peru. Before that time the disturbed conditions within the area, coupled with the fact that the highest superior resided in Quito, handicapped the normal growth of the Order and its activities in Peru. From now on the problems of Lima and its surrounding territory received due consideration, and Lima also received its due share of the friars who arrived from Europe, principally from Spain. Moreover, the establishment of the province facilitated the reception of new members from Peru itself. Under the constitution of the Franciscan Order, only a provincial or his delegate may receive into the Order those who wish to join its ranks. In the early days the responsible provincial lived in Mexico City and his delegate or *custodio* was in Quito. Neither of these men could have been too interested in vocations in Lima and Cuzco, with the result that the needs of Lima were supplied exclusively and more expensively, and hence less generously, by friars from Europe, all of whom were handicapped by their ignorance of the customs and the languages of Peru. Yet, it was vital not only for the growth of the Order but also for its continued existence that it should draw strength from the people of the country. This too was made possible by the location of a provincial in Lima.

The first man from Peru to enter the Franciscan Order was Fray Pedro de la Guerta.¹⁴ He was followed shortly by Fray Juan de Chaves, a Portuguese,¹⁵ Fray Jerónimo de los Nidos, a soldier under Gonzalo

extent of his obligations, even though, as he observed, physical difficulties prevented him from discharging them. His letter concerning these three custodies is as follows: "S.C.R.M. En el capitulo que nuestra horden se tuvo en esta ciudad de los reyes parecio a todos los religiosos que en el se hallaron convenir al servicio de Dios nuestro Señor para poder hacer doctrina entre los yndios que se hiziessen provincias tres custodias las quales el provincial del Piru no puede visitar por estar tan remotas y apartadas de aquesta provincia. Las custodias que se pide se hagan provincias son Chille, y el Nuevo Reino y Quito, que ai de un estremo a otro mas que mill y quattro-cientas leguas y por ser tanta tierra ni se visita de los prelados ni ponen religiosos en las doctrinas como lo harian los provinciales si los uviese en cada una destas custodias y para este efecto se ha escripto de parte desta provincia al capitulo general pidiendo den su autoridad para que estas tres custodias sean provincias

y que envien religiosos para cada una dellas. Y entendemos que si Vuestra Alteza no da fabor escriviendo al capitulo general no se hara porque toman con alguna pesadumbre enbiar frailes a Yndias y hazer nuebas provincias. Humillamente suplicamos a Vuestra Alteza sea servido dar horden como esto tenga efecto. . . . De los Reyes, veinte y dos de Noviembre dese año de 1563. Capellanus de Vuestra Alteza Fray Luis Zapata, Comissario General. Fray Antonio de San Miguel, Provincialis" (AGI, *Lima*, 313). The request was granted; on June 9, 1565, the General Chapter did erect Santa Fe, Quito and Chile into separate and independent provinces. ("Tabula Congregationis Generalis celebratae Pintiae die 9 Junii, anno Domini 1565." ASFL, registro 37.)

14. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Luis de San Gil." BNL, registro 35, fol. 5.

15. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Francisco de Morales." BNL, registro 35, fol. 45b.

Pizarro in his final battle;¹⁶ and Fray Juan de Carillena, a soldier at the time he received the habit who had come to Peru with Viceroy Blasco Núñez Vela as his "criado."¹⁷ The first novice master was Father Alonso de Escarena.¹⁸ Although dates are lacking, the reception of the first candidate could not have taken place before the arrival of the Commissary General. Conditions in Peru would scarcely have permitted the establishment of a novitiate before that time, nor would there seem to have been sufficient friars in the country to permit the assigning of one to train the novices. It seems likely, therefore, that Fray Pedro de la Guerta was received into the Order only in 1549 or 1550 at the earliest. Nor can the date be much later either, for in 1557 he was already functioning as a priest in Surco.¹⁹

The training of these first friars was undoubtedly deficient. Fray Juan de Chaves, for example, while still a student, was sent to instruct the Indians of the *doctrinas*,²⁰ a testimony surely of the great need of apostolic laborers and also of the lack of a demanding class schedule. To all appearances, the situation did not improve immediately. As late as 1571, the provincial, Fray Diego de Medellín, could write to the king:

Those who receive the habit of religious here could do much good in this land because they know the language of the natives, if there were facilities for them to study here. . . . We beseech Your Majesty to command that in our convent of Lima, there be a master to read grammar and two others to read Arts and Theology, which could be done if Your Majesty should command your officials here to give a thousand pesos each year to the said masters until such time as we shall be able to supply capable men from our own ranks, because by thus educating the religious here in letters, it will not be necessary to bring so many religious from Spain or for Your Majesty to spend so much.²¹

16. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Buenaventura de Fuentes." BNL, registro 35, fol. 22. Urteaga, *Fundación Española*, p. 38, speaks of a Gonzalo de los Nidos who was *regidor* of Cuzco in 1534. Are Fray Jerónimo and D. Gonzalo the same person? It is known that Fray Jerónimo had been a rich encomendero of Cuzco before he became a Franciscan.

17. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Juan Estevan." BNL, registro 35, fol. 64.

18. Odriozola, *op. cit.*, IV, 390. This is mentioned several times in the depositions taken by Fray Diego de Córdoba. Fray Dionisio de Oré and Fray Andrés Corzo testify that they had read "un cartapacio" which Padre Escarena had written in his own hand which contained an account of his experiences in Peru. This account has not yet been found.

19. "Confirmacion de los titulos que tiene el monasterio de San Francisco de

una cassa, guerta y tierras que tiene en el Valle de Surco." ASFL, registro 14, número 4.

20. ". . . siendo corista era doctrinante acudiendo a la conversion de los Indios. . . ." "Declaracion del Padre Fray Francisco de Morales." BNL, registro 35, fol. 45b.

21. "Carta del Provincial Fray Diego de Medellín y los Diffinidores de San Francisco a S.M." Los Reyes, n.d. AGI, Lima, 270. Medellín was provincial from 1571-1574, and the complete contents of the letter date it approximately from 1571. Of Medellín, Gil González Dávila, *Teatro Eclesiástico de la primitiva Eclesia de las Indias Occidentales*, II (Madrid, 1655), fol. 20, says: "Doctor Diego de Medellín que fué el primer sacerdote que tuvo el Colegio [i. e., Colegio de San Felipe de Lima] y el primer Doctor: dexó el mundo y tomo el hábito de San Francisco y fué

It is clear from this evidence that in 1571 the province did not yet have a regular and permanent course of studies for its candidates to the priesthood. Even so, at least ten friars from Peru had already been ordained before that time. This may mean, since there is no hint that they had left the country for their instruction, that they were educated in one of the Franciscan convents in Peru, perhaps haphazardly. It is known, moreover, that the Franciscans did not send their students to the infant University of San Marcos, then functioning lamely in the Dominican convent of Lima.²²

The absence of an organized course of instruction cannot be explained by a lack of qualified teachers. By 1571 some Franciscans who had been trained in the best schools of Europe had already arrived in Peru. Fray Juan del Campo, a former professor at Alcalá, was in Peru,²³ as was Fray Marcos Jofré, a graduate of that same university.²⁴ Fray Juan Gallegos, who had received his doctor's degree from the University of Paris and a master's from the University of Bologna, had been in the country for many years,²⁵ although he seems to have lived

Obispo de la Santa Iglesia de Santiago de Chile." The pertinent part of his letter to the king is: "Los que aca toman el habitu para religiosos podrian hazer mucho fructo en esta tierra a causa que saben la lengua de los naturales, si uviese quomodo para estudiar aca. . . . Suplicamos a Vuestra Magestad mande que en este nuestro convento de Lima aya un maestro que lea grammatica y otros dos que lean Artes y Theologia, lo qual se proviera mandando Vuestra Magestad a sus officiales que den hasta cantidad de mill pesos cada año a los dichos maestros, hasta que aya entre nosotros quien suficientemente lo pueda hazer porque criandose asi aca los religiosos en letras no sera necesario venir tantos religiosos de España ni hazer Vuestra Magestad tantos gastos."

22. Domingo Angulo, "La Universidad y Estudio General de la Ciudad de los Reyes," *Revista Histórica*, XII (Lima, 1939), 152-182. See also "Carta del Licenciado Ramirez de Cartajena a S.M." Los Reyes, April 7, 1575, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, VII, 278.

23. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Sebastian de Lezana." BNL, registro 35, fol. 10b. Also, "Declaracion del Padre Fray Diego Sanchez." BNL, registro 35, fol. 53. Fray Juan del Campo was born in 1527 and came to Peru in 1562, very probably at the request of King Philip II, with whom he carried on a regular and interesting correspondence regarding conditions in Peru. Campo was the confessor and advisor of Presidente

Castro, Toledo and Martín Enríquez. Together with Adriano, O. P., and José de Acosta, S.J., Fray Campo completed the clerical members of the junta who advised Viceroy Toledo in the formation of his famous *Ordenanzas*. In 1576, while provincial of Lima, he excused himself from accepting the bishopric of Río de la Plata to which he had been nominated. See "Carta de Fray Juan Campo, Provincial de los Menores, a S.M." Lima, December 3, 1576. AGI, *Lima*, 314.

24. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Dionisio de Ore." BNL, registro 35, fol. 16b. Dionisio de Oré declared that Marcos Jofré "hizó información y memorias de los varones insignes que tubo la provincia en letras y santidad." Oré recalled what he could remember of the work. Possibly Jofré was the author of the short history of the Franciscans in Peru which appears in Gonzaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 1311-1319. Ballesteros, *op. cit.*, IV, 353, says: "Se sabe que el franciscano, fray Marcos Jofré, Guardián de Lima, reuníó importantes notas sobre costumbres y tradiciones indígenas, que aprovechó el jesuita, Blas Valera." This is also noted by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General*, I, 66.

25. "Fray Juan de Gallegos, doctor de la Universidad de Paris y Maestro por la de Bolonia . . . sabia la lengua Griega, Hebrea y la Caldea . . . fue consejero del Virrey Mendoza." "Declaracion del Padre Fray Sebastian de Lezana." BNL, registro 35, fol. 10b.

mostly in the Cuzco area. Fray Juan de Vega, who was to publish in 1590 what was possibly the first textbook printed in Peru, *Instituciones Grammaticae Latino Carmine*, was very probably there,²⁶ while Fray Francisco de Turingia, another university graduate, either was in Lima or would arrive within a year or two.²⁷

With such men at hand, Fray Diego de Medellín should not have been compelled to write to the king for money with which to hire professors from outside the Order. It is true that some of the friars named above were occupied in administrative positions and hence must have had little time for study or teaching. The real reason, however, may have been the lack of interest on the part of some of the Spanish friars in the development of a native-born clergy. This is suggested by the words of Fray Francisco Chávez, who received the habit in 1571 from Fray Diego de Medellín and who in 1601-1604 was provincial of Lima:

He [i. e., Fray Diego de Medellín] had a high regard for the capabilities of the sons of this province, and despite much opposition to it he inaugurated the policy that they might study, and for that purpose he appointed professors and began the policy that permitted them to get ahead in their studies.²⁸

These words seem to indicate clearly that Medellín was the first provincial of Lima who favored the reception of Peruvians into the Franciscan Order.²⁹

The opportunity to become Franciscans thus offered to the creoles was welcomed by large numbers, among them many pupils of the re-organized University of San Marcos.³⁰ At the same time, once a course

26. "Declaracion de Fray Gomez." BNL, registro 35, fol. 19. Fray Juan de Vega, born in 1532, came to Peru in 1562. He had left the Jesuits and later joined the Franciscans, possibly because the Jesuits at the time were still barred from the Spanish Indies. As a Franciscan, Juan de Vega served in Peru, Bolivia and Chile and occupied important positions in all three areas. In 1592 he was guardian of the Franciscan residence in Lima, and there in 1590 he had published his Latin textbook. This work has become exceedingly rare, and I have never seen a copy. José Toribio Medina does not mention it in his *La Imprenta en Lima* (4 vols.; Santiago de Chile, 1904). The Peruvian bibliophile, Carlos Prince, *Biblioteca Peruana Colonial* (Lima, 1910-1911), pp. 81 f., describes the work. The catalogue of the Velasco Collection lists the book as having been published in 1595 (a second edition?). Duke University purchased the Velasco Collection, but this item was missing.

27. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Sebastian de Lezana." BNL, registro 35, fol. 10b.

28. ". . . tubo gran concepto de la virtud de los hijos de esta provincia y no obstante que tubo muchas contradicciones sobre ello, dio principio para que estudiassen y para eso puso cathedraticos y dio principio que commodamente pudiessen aprovechar en las letras . . ." "Declaracion del Padre Fray Francisco Chavez." BNL, registro 35, fol. 45b. Díaz, *op. cit.*, p. 529, says "renitentibus aliis minores scholas et puerorum Gymnasia exerexit. . . ."

29. Fray Diego de Medellín continued his interest in the education of the youth of Peru even after he had completed his term as provincial. In 1574 he retired to Huánuco where he taught grammar to the children of that city in the local Franciscan convent. Later he was to become Bishop of Santiago de Chile.

30. Luis Antonio Eguiguren, *Diccionario Histórico Cronológico de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de San Marcos y sus*

of studies had been organized in Lima, similar classes were begun in Trujillo, Huánuco, Huamanga and Cuzco.³¹ The result was that the Franciscan Order not only received recruits from the best families of the country but also profited from the enthusiasm for study which the young creoles displayed,³² once they have been given the opportunity. Most of the Franciscans whom Peralta³³ considered outstanding among the men of the colony for their learning studied in the Franciscan convents of Peru in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. Among them were Fray Luis Jerónimo de Oré, Ildefonso Brizeño, Buenaventura de Salinas, his brother Diego de Córdoba, Jerónimo de Valera, and Pedro de Alva y Astorga, acknowledged as scholars in Europe as in Peru.³⁴ Their works were widely read, and some of the authors, such as Buenaventura de Salinas and Pedro de Alva, lectured in outstanding European schools.³⁵

Colegios (Lima, 1940), pp. 276 f., states that of the seventeen students in the first class of the Colegio Real de San Felipe y San Marcos, a college of the university, four became Franciscans.

31. The schools mentioned here are found in "Nombres de los Padres que hizieron la protestacion de la fe, años de 1597 y 1598," ASFL, registro 29, documento 23. The document lists the names of the priests of the Lima province (together with their offices) who took the oath of adherence to the decrees of the Council of Trent. Among the priests was Fray Francisco Solano, later to be canonized.

32. In 1589 Fray Hernando Trejo, later Bishop of Tucumán and founder of the University of Córdoba, became the provincial of Lima. He was the first creole and the first graduate of the University of San Marcos to be elected to that office. His two immediate successors, Fray Jerónimo de Valera and Fray Buenaventura de Fuentes, were also creoles and graduates of the university. See Buenaventura de Salinas, *Memorial de las Historias*, Discurso 2, capítulo v. Under the leadership of these men studies in the province were so fostered that the viceroy reported in 1592 that it was no longer necessary to send friars from Spain; indeed, it was imperative that no more should be sent. ". . . ay en este convento y provincia [of the Lima Franciscans] muy venerables religiosos y por la misericordia de Dios son ya tantos y el cuidado y exercicios en sus estudios que no solo se puede escusar muy bien embiar nuevos religiosos . . . pero aun entiendo es nece-

sario." "Carta del Marques de Cañete a D. Juan de Ybarra, secretario del Rey." Los Reyes, October 10, 1592, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, XII, 320.

33. Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo Rocha y Benavides, *Lima Fundada ó Conquista del Perú* (Lima, 1732), canto séptimo, oda 132-135. Peralta mentions these Franciscan writers: Jerónimo de Oré, Alonso Brizeño, Pedro de Alva y Astorga, Buenaventura de Salinas, Diego de Córdoba, Jerónimo de Valera, Bartolomé de Bustamante, Pedro de Tevar, Juan García and Bernardino de Cárdenas.

34. Buenaventura de Salinas, *Memorial, Informe y Manifiesto del Padre Fray Buenaventura de Salinas y Cordova al Rey Nuestro Señor* (Madrid [?], 1645 [?]), fol. 55.

35. Fray Balthasar de Bustamante, a Franciscan of Lima, in 1640 presented to the king a catalogue of famous creoles. Among them are the names of many Franciscans. Thus of twenty-two outstanding theologians named in the list, eleven are Franciscans; of thirty-eight historians, poets and linguists, nine are Franciscans; of thirteen preachers, five are Franciscans; of nineteen authors on law and canons, two are Franciscans. It is supposed that the majority of the friars named here received their training in Peru. Certainly most of them were born in the sixteenth century.

Bustamante's work entitled "Principias del Peru en Santidad, Letras, Armas, Gobierno y Nobleça" was known to have been in the library of Barcia in the early eighteenth century; thereafter the work disappeared. (See Mariano Felipe Paz Soldán, *Biblioteca Peruana* [Lima, 1879], p. 259.)

The wisdom of Fray Diego de Medellín's policy became clearer as the needs of the Order increased. With the progress of colonization the demand for priests and religious grew proportionately. Obviously this demand could not have been satisfied indefinitely from Spanish sources alone, and governmental policy forbade the enlistment of friars from the other countries of Europe. For the Franciscans, the problem presented the alternative of receiving boys born in Peru into the Order, or of reducing their sphere of activity and perhaps of running the risk of disappearing altogether from Peru. In 1559, according to the provincial Fray Francisco de Morales, "there were up to eighty Franciscans in these kingdoms," but even this number did not suffice, and "much has been left undone for lack of laborers."³⁶ By 1571 the shortage of personnel had become so acute that Fray Diego de Medellín, then provincial, was not able to maintain even the restricted services of Morales' time. "We have withdrawn," he wrote to the king, "from many *doctrinas* in this kingdom which we have had for a long time because there is a great lack of religious because none has arrived from Spain, and in five years they have not come."³⁷ To meet the need, Medellín turned to local vocations. What more logical solution could there have been? The prospects were numerous, the supply continuous, and the expenses negligible. At least the Crown would save the expense of the cost of

Fr. Lino G. Canedo, O. F. M., located what appears to be a contemporaneous copy in the Newberry Library in a volume of miscellaneous papers concerning the Spanish Indies (Ayer Collection, no. 1106, "Yglesias de Indias"). The work is reproduced here not only because it illustrates the intellectual achievements of the Peruvian Franciscans at the close of the sixteenth century, but also because of its interest as evidence of the burgeoning pride of the creoles. (See Appendix IV.)

36. ". . . De la orden de señor san Francisco estaremos en estos reynos hasta ochenta religiosos. Por falta de obreros, como digo a Vuestra Magestad, daxese de hacer mucho que se podria." "Carta del Provincial, Fray Francisco de Morales, a S. M." Los Reyes, August 15, 1559. AGI, *Lima*, 313.

37. ". . . con la falta de religiosos que a avido a causa de no aver venido religiosos de España y avernos faltado de cinco años a esta parte . . . hemos dexado muchas doctrinas en este reyno, las cuales avia mucho tiempo que teniamos. . . ." "Carta del Provincial, Fray Diego de Medellín, y los Diffinidores de San Francisco a S. M." Los Reyes, 1571(?). AGI, *Lima*, 270. At

this time it is impossible to identify any of these "many" *doctrinas* which Medellín says the friars had relinquished. While Medellín told the king the truth when he wrote that the friars had been forced to relinquish many *doctrinas* for lack of personnel, he does not seem to have told the entire truth. For it seems that some of the Indian parishes were surrendered by the Commissary General Fray Luis de Zapata (1561-1565). Zapata had given up many *doctrinas* partially to mollify the Archbishop of Lima and partially because it seems he did not favor such activity by the friars. Indeed, according to a letter written by Fray Luis de Revenga on June 25, 1566, Zapata had sent back to Spain some of the older friars because apparently they had favored the friars working in the Indian parishes. Among some of the friars sent back to Spain by Zapata were such honored names as Luis de Oña, Hernando de Armellones, Francisco de Morales and Francisco del Rincón. The departure of these friars, the deaths of others and the lack of new arrivals for several years explain the lack of personnel which Medellín experienced when he became provincial. See Canedo, *The Americas*, IX, 345-346.

transportation across the ocean, an item not to be overlooked in the later years of Philip II's reign. So successful was this policy that in 1574, Fray Juan del Campo, Medellín's immediate successor, asked the king not to send any more large groups of friars from Spain, for "very many now receive the habit here, who fill and will continue to fill the need. . . , and there is already here an excess of both diocesan clergy and friars, and each day more are and will be ordained."³⁸

The young men who entered the Franciscan Order in Peru during the sixteenth century were largely creoles. Later some mestizos were also admitted, but the policy was soon abandoned. There is no indication that during this first century Negroes were accepted at all. Indians came in only as *donados*,³⁹ to serve as interpreters and companions to the priests in the *doctrinas*, or as servants in the convents in the Spanish cities. Actually, a *donado* is in a sense not a Franciscan since he is not a member of the First Order, takes no vows, is free to leave at any time, and wears the habit and lives in the convent only out of courtesy. The case, however, was different with the mestizos. Despite the fact that many required a dispensation from the bar of illegitimacy, they were permitted for a short time to enter the Franciscan Order, and some, among them Fray Jerónimo de Valera, rose to high rank. But in 1580, the door was also closed to the mestizos,⁴⁰ possibly as a result of a prior royal prohibition.⁴¹ From that time on, the Order in Peru was

38. ". . . con todo el encarecimiento que puedo, suplico a Vuestra Magestad . . . no embie camaradas de frayles de hoy mas . . . aca toman ya muy muchos el habito, que suplen y supliran . . . y ya ay por aca sobre de ministros de clérigos y frayles y cada dia se ordenan y ordenaran." "Carta del Provincial, Fray Juan del Campo, a S. M." Lima, November 23, 1574. AGI, *Lima*, 270.

39. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Martín de Prado." BNL, registro 35, fol. 62. According to Fray Martín, one of these Indian *donados* went with the group of Franciscans on the Quirós expedition of 1605 "a la dicha conquista de la Nueva Guinea."

40. "Constituciones de la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles del Piru." Jauja, August 15, 1580. ASFL, registro 36, número 1, capítulo 1: "Ninguno sea recibido a la orden, si no fueren hijos de españoles."

41. Diego de Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, IV (Madrid, 1946), 344, reproduces this royal decree of December 2, 1578. Some mestizo priests of Peru appealed to the Pope, then Gregory XIII, against the royal decree, alleging that it was occasioned by

the jealousy of the Spanish clergy. The Pontiff sponsored their cause energetically and protested to Philip II with the result that on September 28, 1588, the king revoked his earlier prohibition. See Leo Lopetegui, S. J., "El Papa Gregorio XIII y la Ordenación de mestizos hispano-índicos," *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae*, VII (Roma, 1943), 179-203. Lopetegui thinks that Philip's order of 1588 settled the matter of the ordination of mestizos in Peru, but that was not the case; Philip seems to have yielded only externally to give the Pope a hollow victory. In 1589, a year after he is supposed to have granted permission for the ordination of mestizos, King Philip wrote a letter of rebuke to Diego de Medellín, then Bishop of Santiago de Chile, because the bishop was said to have ordained some mestizos. See "Carta de Fray Diego de Medellín, obispo de Santiago de Chile," January 20, 1590, in *Colección de Documentos Históricos Recopilados del Archivo del Arzobispado de Santiago de Chile*, I (Santiago, 1919), 34-39. In this letter the bishop summarizes the king's letter.

composed predominately of creoles; the first creole provincial, Fray Hernando de Trejo, was elected in 1589.

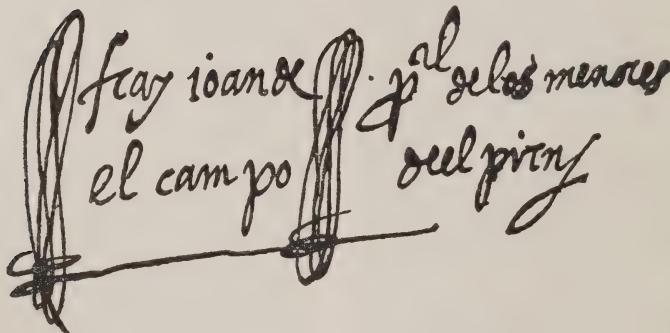
With this election, the Franciscan Order had finally been established in Peru. By that time a well-organized system of studies had been established to insure a flow of new members from the country. It would no longer be necessary to import so many friars from Spain. With Trejo, the last bonds of dependence upon Spain were broken. Early in the next century the Peruvian friars began a postgraduate school for students who had completed three years of Arts and three of Theology.⁴² The province of Lima could now train its members as well as they could have been trained anywhere in Spain. By April, 1589, the province of Lima numbered 201 members, of whom 139 were priests, 31 were students for the priesthood and 39 were lay brothers.⁴³ The majority had been born and trained in Peru.⁴⁴

42. "Constituciones del Colegio de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, año de 1632." ASFL, registro 30B, número 35.

43. "Memoria de todos los conventos." BM, Additional MSS 13977. (See Appendix III.)

44. In 1595 the Lima province numbered 391 members: 237 priests, 76 friar students

for the priesthood and 78 lay brothers. The novices usually numbered about 24. "Relacion de los conventos y doctrinas y religiosos que hay en esta Provincia de los Doce Apostoles del Piru de la Orden de nuestro serafico Padre San Francisco, año de 1595." AGI, *Lima*, 320.



fray joan de la sierra
el campo p' al de los menores
del p' in'

Difficult Beginnings of Labors Among the Indians



THE RELIGIOUS WHO CAME TO PERU with Pizarro not only were to act as missionaries, but they were also to be agents in the conquest of the country. At least such was the mind of the Spanish Crown. While Pizarro was to conquer and secure the land militarily, the religious and, to a lesser extent, the diocesan clergy were to conquer the hearts and the minds of the natives and to introduce among them the religion and the culture of Spain. In this task they were to receive the aid of the governor, and they were to co-operate with him in furthering the political organization and pacification of the country. The civil and the religious rulers were, therefore, co-ordinate instruments of the Spanish Crown for the conquest of Peru. Pizarro enjoyed predominance in so far as the affairs of the Spanish conquistadors were concerned; the religious or clergy, in regard to questions of Indian policy.

According to the instructions of the Crown, the religious were to investigate the conquered Indians and decide with the governor whether these Indians were to be divided among the Spanish encomenderos and on what terms.¹ In the beginning each religious was appointed a protector

1. "Real Cedula sobre los religiosos que habia de llevar D. Pedro de Alvarado." Segovia, October 11, 1532. AGI, 100-1-8, tomo 1, fol. 62b. In this cedula Charles I explains to Alvarado the decrees published in the *Ordenanzas* of Granada of 1526 concerning the good treatment of the Indians. In part the cedula reads as follows: ". . . mandamos, si vista la cualidad y capacidad de ellos [i. e., los Indios] por los dichos religiosos y las otras cosas contenidas en el dicho capitulo, les pareciese que conviene hacer la dicha encomienda o repartimiento que lo haga el dicho gobernador *juntamente* con los dichos religiosos y con su parecer y no de otra manera." It is not clear if this command was explained at such length to Pizarro prior to the conquest, but it is clear that

he was bound to the *Ordenanzas* of Granada in which this privilege of the religious was outlined, for in the twenty-fifth chapter of his Capitulations with the Crown in 1529 Pizarro was told, ". . . que en la dicha pacificacion, conquista e poblacion . . . seys tenudos e obligados de guardar en todo y por todo lo contendio en las hordenanzas y ynstrucciones que para esto tenemos fechos e vos seran dados . . . para la encomienda de los dichos yndios. . . ." See Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Cedulario*, p. 23. As a matter of record, Pizarro did make his repartimiento in accordance with these instructions of the Crown, according to the testimony of Pedro Cieza de León, *Guerras Civiles del Perú* (Madrid, n.d.), p. 57: "Y como en este tiempo el Marqués . . .

of the Indians against the conquistador and the royal official. The religious also were to live among the Indians on the encomiendas, a practice generally forbidden to Spaniards and after 1555 even to the encomendero.² Thus the religious were frequently the sole direct representatives of the royal authority among the Indians, at least until the institution of the Corregidores de los Indios by Licenciado Castro in 1565.³

During the first years (1533-1548) the Franciscans had few, if any, residences in the Indian pueblos, and their mission activity was carried on by a few friars who went from province to province instructing the Indians. When in need of rest, the missionaries returned to the residences in the Spanish cities. The second period of Franciscan activity (1548-1570) is characterized by the establishment of convents among the Indians. The friars used these convents as centers to which they could retire for prayer and rest at the end of their missionary travels, although the friars usually now concentrated their efforts on the Indians who resided within the confines of the province in which the convent was

determinó de hacer el repartimiento general, con acuerdo é parecer del Obispo [Valverde], porque así lo mandaba S. M. . . ." Valverde was the last survivor of the original band of Dominicans who had been named by the Crown to accompany Pizarro. Ernesto de la Torre Villar, *Las Leyes de Descubrimiento en los Siglos XVI y XVII* (Mexico, 1948), pp. 37-39, discusses the role of the religious in the conquest, but he does not speak of this privilege granted by the royal laws. Concerning this point Juan de Solórzano states: "Aún hállo otra cédula del año de 1527 que dá á entender que antigamente, aún á los Religiosos que los Capitanes Conquistadores llevaban consigo á estas entradas se les dá licencia de encomendar, ó que por lo menos se pidiese su consejo y parecer para darlas." See Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra, *Política Indiana* (Madrid, 1776), I, Libro III, capítulo v, número 4.

2. The royal decree which forbade the encomenderos to live among their Indians marked a change in the legislation of the Crown in this regard. See Diego de Encinas, *Cedulario Indiano*, II (Madrid, 1945), fol. 251, where there is a copy of the decree of 1543 which ordered the encomenderos under penalties to reside in the provinces in which they held Indians. In 1550 the Crown inquired of the Audiencia of Lima if it were wise to permit the encomenderos to reside in the

pueblos of the Indians. On June 17, 1555, Philip II ordered that the encomenderos in Peru should not be permitted to reside within the limits of their encomiendas. *Ibid.*, fols. 257 ff. See also Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra, *Política Indiana* (Madrid, 1776), I, 387, Libro III, capítulo XXVII, número 7, who discusses this problem at some length. That this decree forbidding the residence of the encomenderos among their Indians greatly enhanced the power of the *doctrineros* would seem to be evident.

3. The participation of the religious in many aspects of colonial administration which were not strictly ecclesiastical is misunderstood by some modern historians of Peru, who think that the religious were meddling in affairs which were not their concern. However, this activity by the religious, as just explained, in many instances was in accordance with the instructions of the Crown, at least at the beginning of the conquest. Later the balance between the civil authority and the religious was to be redressed. That was to happen especially under Viceroy Toledo, 1569-1581, though not without some misunderstandings. See Raúl Porras Barrenechea, "El testamento de Mancio Serra," *Mercurio Peruano*, XXIII (Lima, 1941), 55-62, where the view is expressed that the religious were frequently tiresome meddlers, if not worse.

erected, even though exact limits had not yet been determined by the authorities. This period also marks the acceptance by the Franciscans in Peru for the first time of certain Indian parishes, or *doctrinas*, an event of 1557. The last period (1570-1600) is distinguished by a further development of the movement begun in the preceding period. While the convents erected in the Indian country were not abandoned, the Franciscans who were to labor henceforth among the Indians were entrusted each with definite Indian parishes, or *doctrinas*, with definite limits and each with a definite term of office. It now became customary for such friars to be approved beforehand by the viceroy, i. e., *la presentación real*.⁴ This form of mission organization persisted substantially until 1752, when the Franciscans in Peru were separated from their *doctrinas* by the Bourbons in an effort to weaken the influence of the friars among the people.

In part the three periods reflect the progress of Peru towards a stable political system, and in part they show the fact that the Franciscans who first came to Peru from Europe were unfitted for their work. For centuries the Franciscans in Europe had been excluded from the administration of parishes by papal decrees issued in the latter half of the thirteenth century; as a result, when the conquest of Peru began, the Franciscans did not know how to fulfill many pastoral obligations. These decrees had been intended to delimit the spheres of activity between the then recently founded Mendicant Orders (Augustinian, Dominican, Franciscan and Mercedarian) and the parochial, or diocesan, clergy. Friar and parish priest were henceforth to work side by side in the service of the Church, but the activities of the two were distinct. The parish priest, usually born and trained within the immediate vicinity of his parish, and hence intimately acquainted with the problems of the locality, restricted himself to the work of administering his parish and of tending to the daily needs of his people. The friar, on the other hand, often an outsider by birth and training, ministered to the people through sermons in the public squares, schools, and especially through special religious and social groups. Moreover, the friar was not bound by a parish; he worked wher-

4. This periodization differs from that of the Anonymous Jesuit, who divides the conversion of Peru also into three periods but uses the civil wars as the line of division: 1533-1541, 1541-1548, 1548-1600. While it would be ridiculous to deny, of course, that the civil wars had a profound influence also on the efforts of the Franciscans in Peru, we do not consider this effect to have been of such importance that they should form the basis for the division. Instead, we have based our di-

vision on the method of missionary activity which dominated each period. For the report of the Anonymous Jesuit, see "Relación de las Costumbres Antiguas de los Naturales del Pirú, Anónima," in Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, *Tres Relaciones de las Antigüedades Peruanas* (Madrid, 1879), pp. 207-217. Also, Francisco Mateos, "Los Dos Concilios Limenses de Jerónimo de Loaysa," *Missionalia Hispánica*, IV (Madrid, 1947), 491-494.

ever the opportunity presented itself or his superiors commanded.⁵

This centuries-old division had grown so venerable by the time of the conquest of Peru that it had become a law almost without an exception that no friar should administer a parish. It should, therefore, not be surprising that the Franciscans did not organize parishes immediately after their arrival in Peru. Not only were they too few in numbers to undertake such a task, but also by training they did not know how, and their mentality would certainly have proved a bar even to their learning. To the Franciscan friar of the sixteenth century, parish work was not a friar's work. In short, the friars who came to the Americas as missionaries in the earlier part of the sixteenth century were untrained for the work in the *doctrinas*, for the friars in Europe had no similar institution. Some friars, indeed, never adapted themselves to the change. We suspect that this was true of many of the Franciscans who came to Peru within the first decades of the conquest of that country. How else may we explain the fact that it was only in 1557, after friars had come from Mexico, that the Franciscans in Peru began to accept parishes of Indians? Later, of course, when creoles and mestizos, who as youths had seen the Franciscans serving as parish priests, joined the Order in Peru, they accepted the role of *doctrinero* without question. Yet until such youths began to form the major part of the Franciscan personnel, the old-world tradition would continue to constitute a serious handicap to the full employment of the friars in the Indian parishes. Even later, this prejudice would remain in the minds of Spanish friars sent to Peru to serve as commissaries general or provincials; they would tend to look upon a *fraile doctrinero* as a friar on the road to ruin.⁶

In the very beginning of the conquest of Peru, all classes of the invading force seem to have joined in the work of converting the natives. Even the soldiers shared in this effort, as can be seen from the group of thirty boys and girls who welcomed the Spaniards upon their arrival at

5. Heribert Holzapfel, *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens* (Freiburg im. Br., 1909), pp. 234-240.

6. Thus Fray Antonio Ortiz, Commissary General of Peru, who had come from the convent of Abrojo in Spain, justly renowned for the strictness of its discipline, wished to give up all *doctrinas* because he felt that they were contrary to the rule of the Franciscans. "Carta del Padre Comisario General, Fray Antonio Ortiz a S. M." Lima, April 29, 1590. AGI, Lima, 318. Concerning the attitude of this commissary general towards the continued tenure of the *doctrinas* by Franciscans, the Viceroy, Marqués de Cañete, writes as follows to the king: "El Comisario Gen-

eral de San Francisco que vino de España en la flota en que yo es muy exemplar y virtuoso religioso y viendo el exceso que ay en los de su orden que asisten en las doctrinas ha tratado y trata de quitarlos diciendo que no pueden en ellas guardar las reglas de San Francisco. Yo le he ido a la mano en esto por el fruto que han hecho y hacen los religiosos de esta orden. Tanbien ha despoblado un monasterio que estava en Guancavelica que era de mucho efecto para los naturales y avitantes que residen en las minas. . . ." "Carta del Virrey, D. Garcia de Mendoza, a S. M." Callao, May 1, 1590, in Levillier, *Gobernantes del Peru*, XII, 155.

the village of Tucu on the island of Puná with the words: "Praised be Jesus Christ." To this salutation they added, "Molina, Molina," in honor of their teacher, the soldier Alonso de Molina, who had been permitted by Pizarro to remain when the conquistador had been in this vicinity on his second voyage. In the same village, the Spaniards saw a high cross and a small chapel with its crucifix and bell.⁷ The interest of some of the Spanish soldiers in the spiritual conversion of the natives continued on the third voyage of exploration and conquest, although the primary purpose of many others was not so spiritual.

Pizarro acknowledged at the very beginning of his conquest that he had received not only a general royal order to co-operate with his friar companions but also specific instructions from the Crown to destroy the Indian idols and to have the sons of the caciques instructed in special schools by the religious.⁸ Even before the death of the Inca Atahualpa, these twin policies were carried out. At San Miguel, the first town founded by Pizarro within his new jurisdiction, he erected a church for the conversion of the Indians,⁹ and before 1544 more than forty sons of caciques and other principal Indians were being instructed and educated here.¹⁰ Again, while the Spanish army was awaiting the gathering of the Inca's ransom in Cajamarca, Hernando Pizarro with a small band of men journeyed to Pachacamac, the chief pagan shrine on the coast, and there destroyed the sanctuary from which the demon was supposed to speak to his devotees. At the same time, Hernando spoke to the bystanders on the folly of their religion.¹¹ This may have been the first temple destroyed in Peru, but it was not the last, especially after the Spanish soldiery found that many pagan shrines and burial chambers contained deposits of precious metals, jewels and rich clothing. Shortly after Hernando's return from Pachacamac, Pizarro began the inauguration of another basic mission policy—the reduction of the scattered Indians into special towns,

7. Trujillo, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

8. Luis Antonio Eguiguren, *Diccionario Histórico Cronológico de la Real y Pontificia Universidad de San Marcos y sus Colegios* (Lima, 1940), p. 34. Eguiguren transcribes the regulation issued by Pizarro to this effect in Lima on February 3, 1536. Pizarro's sincere interest in the religious education of the sons of the caciques, and indeed of all the natives of Peru, is reflected both in his earliest regulations issued to his subordinate officials in July, 1534, and in the grants of Indians to the encomenderos made in August of that same year. There is little room for doubt that such instruction was considered by Pizarro as an integral part of his policy for the reorganization of Peru. See Raúl Por-

ras Barrenechea, "Jauja, Capital Mítica," *Revista Histórica*, XVIII (1950), 135 f.

9. Herrera, *op. cit.*, década quinta, libro primero, capítulo I.

10. "Carta del Obispo de Cuzco, Fray Juan Solano, a S. M." Los Reyes, March 10, 1545. NYPL, Rich 82, fol. 227.

11. Miguel de Estete, "Noticia del Perú," in *Los Cronistas de la Conquista* (Paris, 1938), pp. 232 f. The first conquistadors were interested in finding the *guacas* of the Indians not only because these were centers of pagan worship but also because they contained gold in substantial amounts. See the account of such *guacas* in Alonso Borrígán, *Crónica de la Conquista del Perú* (Sevilla, 1948), pp. 92, 96 ff.

or sections of Spanish towns, as a means of converting the natives. It is not known how many of these pueblos were begun by the governor, but their existence and their purpose is attested to by Almagro in March, 1534, in a letter to the king.¹²

Apparently, therefore, Pizarro was anxious to organize his conquests religiously as well as politically; yet his desire met innumerable obstacles because—and perhaps this is the basic reason—Pizarro did not attract enough men to his banner to complete even the small number stipulated in the Capitulations of 1529.¹³ Pizarro, therefore, had enough strength to destroy the Inca organization (because of the fortuitous circumstances of the native struggle for the throne at the time of the beginning of his conquest), but he did not have sufficient men to organize a government of his own or to implement his own plans successfully. The men who were attracted later to Peru by the rumor of the exceeding riches of the ransom offered by Atahualpa were not loyal to Pizarro and tended to be adventurers of the worst kind, some of them from the other colonies, such as the followers of Nuño de Guzmán from Mexico.¹⁴ It must be admitted that Peru even today is a difficult country to administer because of its varied topography, and hence it may have been too large to have been administered by one man, without the aid of a well-trained corps of government officials,¹⁵ which Pizarro lacked. Because of these varied circumstances, Pizarro's territory to the day of his death can hardly be said to have enjoyed that sense of stable peace and permanent harmony so necessary to the work of building a new culture among conquered natives.

At the same time, Pizarro had not been fortunate in the quality of the clergymen who had come to Peru. Among them good priests were

12. "Carta de D. Diego de Almagro a S. M." San Miguel, March 8, 1534. NYPL, Rich 82, fol. 71b: ". . . porque con los pueblos e la conversacion de los Españoles los caciques e indios vengan mas verdaderamente en conocimiento de nuestra Santa Fe Catolica. . . ."

13. Pizarro was ordered by the Crown to organize a band of 250 men, 150 of whom were to be from Spain and the remainder from the overseas possessions. See Raúl Porras Barrenechea, *Cedulario*, p. 23. It seems doubtful if Pizarro was able to comply with either of these stipulations. According to the "Probanza sobre el armada que lleva Francisco Pizarro, Gobernador del Peru, Puerto de San Lucar de Barrameda, 27 de Enero de 1530," (NYPL, Rich 2, fol. 328) the officials of the Casa found only 133 men, although they were told that Francisco Pizarro had already departed in another vessel with 60 men for

Jamaica to buy the needed horses. This sounds as though Pizarro were not too anxious to have all of his men registered by the officials. Also, if Pizarro actually brought 193 men from Spain, why is it that he had only 180 when he began the actual conquest of Peru? This number was decidedly below the 250 stipulated by the Crown. See Jerez, *Verdadera Relación*, p. 24.

14. "Carta de Gonzalez Fernandez de Oviedo a S. M." Santo Domingo, October 25, 1537. NYPL, Rich 82, fol. 100. Matías de la Mota y Padilla, *Historia de la Conquista del Reino de la Nueva Galicia* (Guadalajara, 1920), pp. 125 f., states that almost a hundred followers of Guzmán abandoned him to go to Peru when they heard of the riches of that country.

15. "Carta de Felipe Gutierrez a S. M." Cuzco, December 30, 1540. NYPL, Rich 82, fol. 147.

very few, while a relatively large number were spiritual adventurers. By the time of the capture of Atahualpa, Valverde was the only Dominican survivor of the original band. Of the Franciscans who had come with Niza, there were only two in the city of Lima in November, 1535. Bishop Berlanga, who visited Lima at that time on royal business, reported that there were some priests and ex-friars there who had come to Peru to get away from the watchful eye of their superiors. The neglect of conversion, he said, could not have been greater.¹⁶ Valverde upon his return in April, 1536, as Bishop of Cuzco apparently agreed with the verdict of Berlanga. In his report to the king of March 20, 1539, he requested the monarch to forbid any religious to come to Peru except the Dominicans and Franciscans, because "today, it seems, these two Orders are the most observant of the Mendicant Orders, and in these new lands a greater good example is needed. . . ."¹⁷ Since the territory was hampered by a lack of competent clerical laborers, it is not surprising that Pizarro's command that the sons of the caciques should be educated by the religious should have shown few results.

An idea of the situation during these first years is given by Guamán Poma de Ayala. In some provinces there was only one priest. When he was not available, pious laymen would instruct the Indians in the rudiments of the faith in Spanish, but it is doubtful that many Indians understood what they were saying. When a priest visited the Indians, he would say the usual prayers for the Indians in Latin. He would then try to preach in the native tongue, using signs generously to make himself understood. Neither these priests nor the laymen took money from the Indians, but they received food. They did not beat the natives or punish them but tried with all love and kindness to persuade them to submit to the king and to the pope.¹⁸ The actual work accomplished among the Indians by the missionaries during these first years must have been very little. It was a period of contact and of beginnings, and almost certainly not one of deep penetration into the soul of the native. The four thousand converts who Lorente¹⁹ states were in Cuzco at the time of the death of Pizarro in 1541 could hardly have been deeply convinced Christians.

16. "Carta del Obispo de Tierra Firme, D. Tomás de Berlanga, a S. M." Nombre de Dios, February 3, 1536, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, II, 42 and 43.

17. "Carta del Obispo del Cuzco, Fray Vicente Valverde, a S. M." Cuzco, March 20, 1539. NYPL, Rich 80, fol. 269b: ". . . estas dos ordenes, segun parece hoy dia son las que mas en observancia florescen entre los Mendicantes, y en estas tierras nuevas es menester mas exemplo. . . ."

18. Arthur Posnansky, *El Primer Nueva Corónica i Buen Gobierno compuesto por D. Phelipe Guamán Poma de Ayala* (La Paz, 1944), pp. 614-615.

19. Sebastián Lorente, *Historia de la Conquista del Perú por los Españoles* (Lima, 1861), pp. 487 ff. Concerning the mixture of Christian and pagan beliefs among the Indians of Peru at about this time, see Herrera, *op. cit.*, década quinta, libro quinto, capítulo XI.

After Pizarro's assassination the religious policies were continued by Vaca de Castro, the royal governor. Castro erected four monasteries in as many provinces—Chincha, Guailas, Jauja and Huamanga, possibly all Dominican foundations—as centers of religious instruction and Indian settlement.²⁰ Castro also evidenced the same interest as the earlier Spaniards in the conversion of the caciques, whose prestige could be useful both to the religious and the civil leaders. He is evidently proud to inform the king that the cacique of Guailas had been converted with all his relatives. When he returned to Spain, there were, he said, more than four hundred thousand Christian Indians in Peru.²¹ Granted, of course, that this figure may be padded, it still indicates that the missionaries had met with a favorable response from the Indians despite unfavorable circumstances of many kinds.

That these Indian neophytes were not too firm in their faith is seen in the account of Bishop Solano of Cuzco,²² written in Lima in 1545. The bishop had landed earlier at Paita in the extreme north and journeyed overland to the City of the Kings. In his letter he describes the conditions which he observed on this journey. He found that the Indians had almost completely abandoned the Christian churches after the promulgation of the New Laws by the Viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela. The Indians understood the New Laws to signify that they were free from Spanish control, and thus they abandoned not only their Spanish encomenderos but their Spanish priests as well. The caciques also had their own interpretation of the laws and saw in them an opportunity to reconstitute their own power. Some of the Christianized Indians who returned to their own pueblos were killed by their caciques, either because they had served the Spaniards or because they were considered traitors to their pagan gods, to whom they were now offered in atonement. All this boded ill for the progress of Christianity among the Indians, and this foreboding was not relieved in any way by the ensuing rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, which was to keep the entire country in turmoil for four years.

It is surprising though to discover that even Gonzalo Pizarro in the midst of this grave struggle still had time, according to Gómara, to insist that the encomenderos, under penalty of forfeiture of their grants, see to it that their Indians were instructed in the Christian faith.²³ On the

20. "Carta del Licenciado Cristóbal Vaca de Castro al Emperador." Cuzco, November 24, 1542, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, I, 72.

21. "Recurso de Vaca de Castro al Emperador Carlos V," *Revista Peruana*, II (1879), 142-146: ". . . deje mas de cuatrocientos mil indios cristianos. . . ." The *recurso* is not dated, but it was written

some time after Vaca de Castro returned to Spain.

22. "Carta del Obispo del Cuzco, Fray Juan Solano, a S. M." Los Reyes, March 10, 1545. NYPL, Rich 82, fols. 223-227.

23. Francisco López de Gómara, "Historia de las Indias," in Enrique de Vedia, *Historiadores Primitivos de Indias*, I (Madrid, 1877), 264 f.

other hand, under the circumstances, there is little cause for wonder if the work of conversion slackened during these wars, as the same author notes.²⁴ The important point to remember is that despite the disturbances of the Spanish civil war and of Indian insurrection, despite the many distractions of conquering and of organizing a new country, the rulers of Peru, even the illegal claimants, co-operated with the clergy in a sustained effort, of unequal intensity certainly, to convert the Indian to the Christian faith. At the very least, the contact made during the period, 1533-1548, would render the work of later missionaries much easier when peace would be restored to the country. Certainly also during the same period some solid work had been done, and some of the fundamental policies upon which the conversion was to be carried through were laid. In particular, the emphasis on the conversion of the caciques and the gathering of the Indians into pueblos, together with the practice of educating the sons of the caciques and of other principal Indians, was to survive and to be enlarged in succeeding decades of the sixteenth century. At the same time, there is one bit of evidence to show that perhaps the work of this first period was not so superficial and so ephemeral as most of our information at this time would tend to make us believe. Why indeed did the Crown on September 21, 1543, instruct the newly appointed members of the royal court of Lima not to permit the sale of profane novels to the Indians?²⁵ Was this instruction merely a precaution, or were there some Indians at that early date sufficiently well educated actually to read such books?

It is difficult to form an accurate judgment of the role played by the Franciscans in this first period. As far as is known today, the Franciscan effort was not significant. The typical missionary during this period was a holy vagabond, who wandered from province to province, instructing the Indians as occasion permitted, usually in the *tambos* and often at night.²⁶ Such a missionary was Father Pedro de Albadán, a diocesan

24. *Ibid.*, I, 274. Gonzalo Pizarro himself stresses his interest in the instruction of the Indians. "Siendo nombrado gobernador por vuestra real audiencia, tube estos reinos en toda justicia librándolos á mi costa de la guerra y alborotos que en ella habia, procurando, que los naturales recibiesen la religión cristiana i compeliendo á los vecinos de la tierra que en todos los repartimientos tubiesen sacerdotes que doctrinasen á los naturales, cosa que hasta mi tiempo no se habia hecho. . ." "Carta de Gonzalo Pizarro a Su Magestad. Los Reyes, 20 de Julio de 1547," *Revista Peruana*, II (1879), 623.

25. José Torre Revello, *El Libro, La Imprenta y el Periodismo en América*

durante la Dominación Española (Buenos Aires, 1940), p. 38.

26. It would seem that these Incaic inns became the first centers of Christian instruction in Peru. Thus, Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yanqui, "Relación de Antigüedades deste Reyno del Pirú," in Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, *Tres Relaciones de las Antigüedades Peruanas* (Madrid, 1879), p. 232, states that his parents were among the first caciques who were baptized in the *tambo* at Cajamarca, apparently shortly after the capture of Atahualpa. Bishop Solano in the letter referred to above (NYPL, Rich 82, fol. 232) seems to indicate that the use of the *tambos* for the purpose of Christian instruction was quite

priest, who wrote to Gonzalo Pizarro in 1544 that he was an old man and tired of wandering from town to town in search of the Indians. He was anxious to settle down in the curacy of Callao then being founded by Gonzalo.²⁷ Another such priest was Fray Diego de Porres, a Mercedarian, who narrates a little later that he passed from one province to another, erecting churches and baptizing the Indians.²⁸ Such were also the first Franciscans, vagabonds in the service of the Lord. "Almost each religious of these [twelve] had charge of three or four provinces of Indians. They did not settle in any one place . . . , and on foot they traveled from village to village . . . "²⁹ Since the activity of the friars in this first period was so scattered, it is almost impossible to assess its value in any single area. It would seem, moreover, that most of the early friars labored not in present Peru, but either in Ecuador or in Bolivia. Those who did labor in present-day Peru concentrated their efforts in the north, in the valleys of Lambayeque, Chiclayo, Trujillo and Cajamarca, with residence at Trujillo, and in the extreme south in the area contiguous to Cuzco, with residence in that city. After 1545, the Franciscans also began to work among the Indians of the central part of Peru after they had established a residence in Lima. By the end, therefore, of the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, the Franciscans in Peru had three residences, Trujillo, Lima and Cuzco, all of them in Spanish cities, from which they worked among the Indians and to which they returned from time to time to rest and to renew their spirit.

Some churchmen in Peru were not satisfied with either the methods or the accomplishments during the first period. Thus Father García Díaz Arias, who said that he was personally acquainted with the Franciscan Bishop of Mexico City, Juan de Zumárraga, and had seen how the mission work was conducted in Mexico, when informed in 1542 of his nomination as first Bishop of Quito, wrote to the king that his first act would be to bring to Quito some experienced friars from Mexico to in-

common when he says: ". . . vi tambien que . . . en los tambos por los caminos adonde cada noche les enseñavan la doctrina cristiana . . ." That this custom was employed by the Franciscans is seen from the "Testamento de D. Lope de Ayala," Trujillo, May 9, 1551, (ASFQ, registro 9, parte 1, fol. 51) in which Ayala promises that if the Franciscans consent to build a monastery in the valley of Collique he will erect among other buildings: ". . . un tambo grande para la doctrina . . ."

27. *From Panama to Peru: The Conquest of Peru by the Pizarros. The Rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro and the Pacification by*

La Gasca (London, 1925), p. 12. This is the Maggs Brothers sale catalogue of the collection of original documents purchased by the Huntington Gallery and Library under the title of "The La Gasca Papers." This catalogue gives a fairly satisfactory summary of each document.

28. Levillier, *Organización*, I, 394-398.

29. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Luis de San Gil," BNL, registro 35, fol. 1: ". . . casi cada religioso destos [dozel] tenia a su cargo tres o quatro provincias de indios, no parando ni descansando un punto . . . y siempre andando a pie de pueblo en pueblo . . ."

augurate the Mexican system there.³⁰ In 1545 the same idea was expressed by Licenciado Samano, who was also acquainted with conditions in Mexico. Samano suggested to the king that since the Franciscans had been so outstandingly successful in their work with the Indians of Mexico, fifty of the friars should be transferred to Peru, together with a number of their converted Indians to form a nucleus in each Indian pueblo of Peru.³¹ These suggestions afford, perhaps, the best criticism of the state of missionary work in Peru up to the time of the arrival of La Gasca.

La Gasca, of course, was not only to reorganize the political system of Peru but to revitalize its religious life as well. The President brought numerous instructions with him from Spain and also many religious workers.³² The latter were stationed throughout Peru to serve among the natives and to gather the scattered fruits of the earlier laborers. Under the care of these new priests, many of the former converts were brought back to the Church, and new areas were staffed with missionaries. As a result of such measures, La Gasca was soon able to report to the Council of the Indies that even many caciques were beginning to convert.³³ La Gasca's optimism was shared by Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, one of the first Dominicans to labor among the Indians, who thought in 1550 that the Indians as a whole were on the point of accepting the Faith.³⁴ In the same year, Cieza de León also reported that "religious were stationed in most provinces," and that "many Indians had accepted our Faith."³⁵ Thus the results of La Gasca's efforts had soon become evident.

For the Franciscans, too, the arrival of La Gasca and the suppression of the Pizarro rebellion marked the beginning of a new era. As far as is known, the Franciscans now began to occupy permanent residences for the first time in the Indian country. This innovation was the result of La Gasca's intervention, for in 1548 he personally ordered the Franciscans to take exclusive care of the Indians of the province of Caja-

30. "Carta del Bachiller Garcia Diaz Arias a S. M." Los Reyes, January 15, 1542, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, II, 214 f.

31. "Carta del Licenciado Amador de Samano a S. M." Nombre de Dios, January 5, 1545, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, II, 255 f.

32. "Relacion de las armas i otras cosas que se compraron i embiaron al Licenciado de la Gasca." NYPL, Rich 82, fol. 240b: ". . . mas, en proveer matalotajes a frayles, 35, 250 maravedis."

33. "Carta del Licenciado La Gasca al Consejo de Indias." Los Reyes, July 17, 1549, in Levillier *Gobernantes*, I, 210 f. Much the same material is contained in

another letter of La Gasca written a little later to Maximilian and Maria. See "Carta del Licenciado Pedro de la Gasca a los Príncipes Gobernadores de España," Los Reyes, December 6, 1549, in *Cartas de Indias* (Madrid, 1877), pp. 559 f.

34. "Carta de Fray Domingo de Santo Tomas al Consejo de Indias." Los Reyes, July 1, 1550, in NYPL, Rich 82, fols. 282 f.

35. Pedro de Cieza de León, *La Crónica del Perú* (Buenos Aires, 1945), pp. 282 f.: ". . . Verdad es que, como ya en más provincias deste reino están religiosos doctrinándolos . . . muchos hay que han profesado nuestra ley. . . ."

marca.³⁶ In that same year, Fray Luis de Oña built a residence in the valley of Jauja at Concepción.³⁷ At about the same time, the Franciscans from Lima either began or in some cases renewed their labors among the Indians of the valley of Lima, especially at Surco and Magdalena la Vieja, and in the valleys to the south, especially Pachacamac, Lurín-Ica, Chilca, Mala, Coayllo and Calango, down to the valley of Chincha.³⁸ In 1553, a residence was begun at Luna-Huaná to serve these more southern valleys, but this was strongly opposed by some clerics, especially by a certain Father Francisco de Ayala.³⁹ In the extreme south, a residence was begun among the Collaguas Indians and, perhaps, others in some of the valleys near Cuzco.

While the establishment of residences in the Indian country was a move in the right direction, it did not signify immediately that the Franciscans would be able to give much more attention than formerly to the individual native. For some time to come these friars were still to be wandering missionaries, though instead of wandering from province to province they would now wander within one province. In 1548 there were not enough friars to permit them to concentrate attention on small groups of natives. Thus in Cajamarca in 1548, there were more than five hundred Indian villages and only a handful of friars.⁴⁰ This meant that the missionary could spend only a short time in each *pueblo*. Much the

36. "Relación de los Principios del conocimiento de Dios que tuvo esta Provincia de Cajamarca y la vida del Santo Padre Fray Matheo de Jumilla," *Revista Histórica*, I (1906), 471 f.

37. Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas*, I, 84, note a.

38. Saldamando, *op. cit.*, pp. 278-280.

39. "Provision Real dada por esta Audiencia Real por la qual mandan so graves penas que ninguna persona asi eclesiastica como seglar impida a los religiosos de nuestra orden que estan en el Valle de Luna Guana la doctrina de los naturales ni la obra de la iglesia que iban haciendo. Fue dada esta provision a tantos dias de Noviembre del año de 1553." ASFL, registro 14, parte 1, número 1. The *provisión* itself has been cut from the bound volume of documents, and only the covering letter copied above still remains. However, there is another *Provisión Real* issued by the Audiencia of Lima on June 15, 1554, in answer to the petition of Fray Antonio de San Miguel, Guardian of San Francisco of Lima, to the same effect. ASFL, registro 14, parte 1, número 2. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Manuscritos Peruanos de la Biblioteca Nacional de Lima* (Lima, 1940), p. 115,

lists as present in that Library before the recent fire a "Provision Real, fecha Los Reyes, Noviembre de 1553, para que el clérigo Francisco de Ayala ni otra persona alguna estorbe a los religiosos de San Francisco que han comenzado a hacer casa de residencia en Lunahuana y predicar a los indios, a petición del Custodio de los Reyes, Fray Antonio de la Torre." Perhaps this is the document which was abstracted from the archives of San Francisco. Unfortunately, it was destroyed in the fire. It is not known when the Franciscans began to labor in this valley of Luna-Huaná, though certainly the year 1548 seems to be very conservative in the light of the order of Archbishop Loaysa of September 19, 1549, stating that the usual salary and ration should be extended to the two friars who have been added to those already at work there. See "Provision del arzobispo de Lima para que se pague el sinodo y ración a los dos religiosos que se añadieron en el repartimiento de Luna Guana. Los Reyes, 19 de Setiembre de 1549." ASFL, registro 14, parte 1, número 3.

40. "Relación de los Principios," *Revista Histórica*, I, 476.

same condition existed in the valleys south of Lima where a friar might remain a week in a village once in about every two months. But after 1548, as the number of friars slowly increased, the periods of visitation were lengthened, though for many years the uninterrupted instruction of the same group by one friar was still impossible.

Such instruction could be offered only in regular parishes manned by permanent groups of friars. In other words, uninterrupted instruction could be given if the Indians were organized in parishes and if the friars were retained on a permanent basis. But this was a slow development. It was not until May 10, 1557, that the Marqués de Cañete at the request of the Franciscan superiors granted the *pase real* to the papal privileges which permitted the Franciscans to assume the permanent care of Indian parishes or *doctrinas*.⁴¹ While the friars may have administered such parishes before this time, it was probably only now that such a responsibility became a permanent part of the Franciscan policy of mission activity in Peru. After receiving the *pase real*, the friars, in August of that same year, accepted the *doctrina* at Magdalena, and in December that of Surco, both near Lima. Thus began a new phase in the Franciscan missionary effort in Peru. If Christianity was to be implanted firmly among the natives, this type of spiritual care was clearly imperative.

The slowness of the development was due largely to two causes: the hesitancy of the Franciscan superiors to accept parishes as a permanent obligation, and the reluctance of the bishops, who were mindful, perhaps, of the unhappy experiences in Mexico, to entrust these parishes to the religious. The religious orders in Peru were exempt from the jurisdiction of the bishops and were governed directly by their own superiors or provincials, who in the Spanish Empire occupied the same administrative level as the bishops. Thus to the bishops of Peru, each *doctrina* given to the Franciscans and to the other Orders signified a curtailment of the episcopal power and frequently also loss of revenue as well. In 1562 Archbishop Loaysa⁴² complained that the Indians in the *doctrinas* knew

41. "Provision del Marqués de Cañete, Los Reyes, 10 de Mayo de 1557." ASFL, registro 30B, documento 30. This *provisión* which granted the *pase* to the papal bulls which gave the Franciscans permission to care for Indian parishes was issued at the request of Fray Juan de Aguilera, Commissary General, and Fray Hernando Armellones, Provincial of the province of Lima. On the same day Marqués de Cañete of his own volition issued a second *provisión* addressed to the bishops of Peru and in particular to the Archbishop of Lima informing them that since the *pase* had been granted to the papal bulls the friars

could no longer be forbidden to administer Indian parishes or to administer the sacraments to the Indians. Unfortunately neither document produced the desired effect. Many friars still continued to oppose the acceptance of *doctrinas* on a permanent basis; the bishops, perhaps warned by the example of Mexico, continued to hesitate to cede the *doctrinas* to the friars.

42. "Carta del arzobispo de Los Reyes, Don Gerónimo de Loaysa, al Presidente del Consejo de Indias." Lima, November 30, 1562. AGI, *Lima*, 300. There is no intention on the part of the author to blame the policy of the bishops of Peru, or to

the friars and not their bishops. Hence, although Loaysa, who controlled all of central and northern Peru, had a high regard for the Franciscan *doctrinero*, he was not anxious to entrust *doctrinas* to them or to any other religious, even though he did not then have enough diocesan clergy to staff these Indian parishes.⁴³ Yet, the blame must also be shared by the Franciscan superiors who were anxious, perhaps overanxious, to withdraw from the work among the scattered Indian pueblos and to gather their friars back into the convents where strict conventional life could be followed with its determined times for silence, prayer and labor. The Franciscan superiors, for example, withdrew their men in 1569 from the *doctrinas* of Cajamarca entirely on their own initiative. In 1584 the same thing was attempted by Fray Jerónimo de Villacarrillo without any pressure from the bishops and surely contrary to the wishes of the Indians. Villacarrillo would have given up even more, if he had not met with determined opposition from many quarters.⁴⁴ A strong hand was required to overcome the hesitancy and reluctance; Viceroy Toledo supplied it.

When Francisco de Toledo arrived in Peru as viceroy in 1569, he found all the residences of religious in Lima well populated,⁴⁵ and with

intimate that Archbishop Loaysa was not as favorable towards the Franciscans as he was to members of other Orders. As a matter of fact, although the archibishop was a Dominican, the superiors of that Order in Peru in 1553 complained to the king that up to that time they had not yet been able to have either convents or churches erected for them in the Indian villages. The best they could do was to wander two by two through the Indian country, instructing the natives as best they could: ". . . los religiosos de santo Domingo que Vuestra Magestad tiene en estas partes del Piru para la conversion de los naturales . . . somos tan pocos . . . que nos forzo a que nos dividiesemos de dos en dos la mayor parte de nosotros por las provincias de los Indios. . . . Tienen los religiosos de estas Ordenes [i.e., Augustinian, Dominican and Franciscan] necesidad que se les hagan casas y iglesias asi en los pueblos de españoles como en los de Indios porque ningunas tienen y aunque Vuestra Magestad entendiendo la obligacion que hay en ello ha mandado proveer aca que se las hagan, a todas las cedulas que sobre ello vienen dan glosas los que avian de proveer y asi nunca se hace nada." "Carta de los Dominicanos a S. M." Lima, August 20, 1553. AGI, *Lima*, 307.

43. Although this complaint against the

first Archibishop of Lima was voiced by several predecessors, it was Francisco de Toledo who was most insistent in his complaints to the Crown against the inactivity of Loaysa in this regard. In fact, Toledo thought it advisable for Loaysa to resign his office and retire to Spain. Specifically, Toledo made the charge in his "Carta del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo a S. M." Los Reyes, February 8, 1570, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, III, 386 f: ". . . no teniendo clérigos no queria admitir frayles y darles doctrinas. . . ."

That this attitude was shared by the other bishops of the time in the Vice-royalty of Peru is also true. Thus, "Carta del Provincial de la Merced, Fray Nicolas de Ovalle, a S. M." Los Reyes, March 19, 1591, in Levillier, *Organización*, I, 523, states in part: ". . . si dichos Obispos han de examinar a los dichos religiosos, aunque sepan mas que Sancto Thomas de Aquino, han de decir que son insuficientes y les han de preferir qualquier clérigo por ignorante que sea. . . ."

44. "Carta de Fray Antonio de Zúñiga al Rey D. Phelipe II." Peru, July 15, 1579. *CDIHE*, XXVI, 117 f.

45. "Carta del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo, a S. M." Cuzco, September 24, 1572, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IV, 408. Toledo had mentioned this same fact in

his customary energy he set about remedying the reluctance of both the bishops and the religious superiors. When he had landed at Paita, the Indians from Cajamarca had met him and requested that he should send back the Franciscans to care for them. One day, shortly after his arrival in Lima, Toledo entered the Franciscan convent at mealtime. At his request he was conducted to the refectory. Calmly the viceroy counted the number of friars at table and summarily ordered the superiors to send friars to reoccupy the *doctrinas* of Cajamarca.⁴⁶ The other Orders, as also the reluctant bishops, were treated with just as little ceremony. As Toledo traveled about the country on his visits, he used his power as royal representative not only to delimit parishes but also to entrust these parishes to the friars.⁴⁷ To the Franciscans, apparently without bothering to consult the interested bishop, he assigned those parishes which they were administering at the time of his visit.⁴⁸ This, together with his policy

several other letters to the home government. It should be mentioned that the fact that the communities of religious were numerous in Lima and Cuzco does not necessarily mean that the religious were anxious to avoid work. For, in those two cities, most of the Orders had their houses of studies where the young religious were trained. This had been pointed out to Toledo by the Crown in the official instructions which he received before leaving Spain for Peru. However, Toledo governed the viceroyalty with a strong hand and brooked little opposition in his efforts to organize the government of his jurisdiction. For the instructions of the Crown, see "Instrucciones sobre doctrina y gobierno eclesiastico dadas al D. Francisco de Toledo. 28 de Diciembre de 1568." LC, Ursuline Collection.

46. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Luis de San Gil." BNL, registro 35, fol. 8. This incident seems to have made quite an impression on the friars for several of them narrate it at some length. Fray Luis de San Gil was present and describes the scene in these words: ". . . el dicho Virrey luego que llego a esta ciudad vino a visitar este nuestro convento de Lima. Lo primero que vido fue el refectorio y conto las raciones de los frayles y dixo estando yo presente al Padre Provincial: Pues aviando tantos frayles han desamparado aquellos indios de Cajamarca que con lagrimas me pidieron que los volviesse a su tierra. Y dixo al Padre Provincial: Padre, sin dilacion ninguna me nombre un guardian y doze frayles para aquella provincia de Cajamarca y vayan luego para la conversion de aquellos

indios porque para eso los embio el Rey aca . . . y asi luego el Padre Provincial que era el Padre Fray Juan del Campo nombro por guardian de Cajamarca al Padre Fray Gaspar de Baños, Portugues de nacion, de santa vida y despacho a doze religiosos que fueron alla. . . ." Though San Gil's account is substantially correct, it is difficult to harmonize the sequence of events given by him with the documents known at this time. Fray Juan del Campo in 1569 and 1570 was commissary general. In a letter to the king from Quito, November 26, 1569, he wrote that the *doctrinas* of Cajamarca had already been reoccupied (AGI, Lima, 270), though another document states that the Franciscans resumed charge only on April 21, 1570. These friars were eight in number, and their leader was not Fray Gaspar de Baños but Fray Mateo de Velasco. They had been confirmed in their positions by Toledo on March 8, 1570. "Nombramiento de ocho frayles para las doctrinas de Cajamarca por el Virey D. Francisco de Toledo en 8 de Marzo de 1570." ASFL, registro 9, parte 6, número 3. Appended to the bottom of this document is the testimony of the *Corregidor* of Cajamarca, Diego Dávila, that the above appointments had been solemnly read in the "plaza publica en el asiento de San Antonio en viente un dias del mes de Abril de 1570."

47. "Carta del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo, a S. M." Cuzco, March 1, 1572, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IV, 133.

48. "Memoria y Instrucción de lo que el Padre Fray Matheo de Recalde . . . ha de procurar y hacer en nombre de la

of uniting the scattered small settlements of Indians into pueblos of such size that each could support a priest—about four hundred tribute-paying Indians to each reduction⁴⁹—finally rendered truly effective work possible. This is not to say that before 1570 the missionaries had accomplished nothing; for it does seem that by that date the Christian faith was firmly established in Peru.⁵⁰ We would like to emphasize, however, that because of Toledo's reorganization, the missionaries were permitted to operate under conditions more favorable than formerly; they were now able to concentrate their efforts and thus would have more reason to hope that Christianity would take a firmer root in the soul of the native.

provincia de Los Reyes en España ante S. M. y su Real Consejo, dada por Fray Bernardo Gamarra, Provincial, y su defini-torio," in Levillier, *Organización*, I, 546. It would seem that up to the time of Toledo's reorganization, the friars had no official appointment for most of the *doctrinas* in which they served and hence also that they lacked security of tenure.

49. These reductions by Toledo, though greatly desired by many *doctrineros*, did not meet with the unqualified approval of either all civil or religious superiors in Peru at that time. It is certain that the reduction of the Indians entailed grave economic loss for in the process their old homesteads as well as the churches already erected in the abandoned villages were destroyed. See "Título de Corregidor del Cuzco al Capitán Hierónimo Pacheco otorgado por D. Francisco de Toledo," Los Reyes, 14 de Noviembre de 1578, in *Revista de Archivos y Bibliotecas Nacionales*, I (1898), 346. In this document, Toledo commands: "Si algunos indios se volvieren de las casas y reducciones donde estuvieren reducidos, vos mando que con mucho cuidado lo sepais e inquirais y les hagais quemar las casas viejas, proveyendo que de ninguna manera les quede refugio. . ." Regarding the destruction of churches, see Carta del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo, a S. M. Cuzco, 25 de Marzo de 1571, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, III, 508. Fray Antonio de Zúñiga, who had been a member of the entourage of the elder Marqués de Cañete

before he became a friar, claimed that the reductions were frequently merely a pretext for the Spaniards to rob the Indians of their lands. When the Indian was forced to leave his old home site, the Spaniards would take his lands and stock them with sheep. The next year the Indian would be forced to return to care for the sheep of another now grazing on the land which had formerly been his. See, "Carta de Fray Antonio de Zúñiga," *CDIHE*, XXVI, 104 f. For other aspects of the reductions of Toledo, see Arthur Franklin Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1938), pp. 72 f, 121-127, 260-261.

50. Francisco Mateos, S.J., "Los Dos Concilios Limenses de Jerónimo de Loaysa," *Missionalia Hispánica*, IV (1947), 494 f. Padre Mateos, speaking of the religious conditions in Peru in 1567, says: "El cristianismo, pues, estaba asentado sólidamente entre los indios del Peru, bajo la dirección de los obispos, y con el trabajo principalmente de virtuosos y sabios misioneros de las Ordenes monásticas." The same author goes on to state that when the first Augustinians came to Peru in 1551, they wrote as though nothing had been accomplished before their arrival. The same thing was alleged by the first Jesuits after their arrival in 1568. More modern arrivals have repeated the charge. Mateos adds: "Permítasenos rechazar de plano tan injustas exageraciones, nacidas de una exaltación mística, herencia de las utopías de Las Casas. . . ."

Franciscan *Doctrinas* in Peru

After 1570



UNTIL THE ARRIVAL of Viceroy Toledo in 1568, the Franciscan apostolate in Peru had been handicapped by a lack of security in the tenure of the Indian *doctrinas*. Until Toledo intervened and appointed the *doctrineros* by virtue of the royal privilege, the encomendero was responsible for the spiritual instruction of his native charges.¹ The encomendero, however, by the very nature of his office, could not assign the spiritual care of his Indians to the friars permanently; the Archbishop of Lima, who could possibly have done so, was not anxious to give up his rights. Moreover, the majority of the Franciscan superiors do not appear to have been willing to accept charge of *doctrinas* in perpetuity. Consequently, the friars were reduced to working among the natives only as occasion permitted; many natives were deprived of the constant care which their condition as neophytes demanded.

The situation in the *doctrinas* irked Toledo, and with his characteristic vigor he sought a remedy. The viceroy ignored the wishes of both the archbishop and the Franciscan superiors. By virtue of the royal patronage, though apparently without express prior royal approval,² he simply assigned the friars permanently to those *doctrinas* in which they were then at work and prescribed the number of friars which the superiors would have to maintain in each *doctrina*.³ It was a drastic action, but apparently one required by the circumstances. After 1570 it is comparatively simple to identify the *doctrinas* cared for by Franciscans. Before

1. This is evident from the original grants of the encomiendas by Pizarro. See, for example, eight such grants in *Revista del Archivo Nacional del Perú (RANP)*, IV (1926), 1-21. Much has been written of the cruelty and greed of the encomenderos. Many of them were also conscientious observers of the Christian way of life.

2. There is no indication in the royal instructions to Toledo that he had been granted such powers. Earlier viceroys had

not dared act in this way. See "Instrucciones sobre doctrina y gobierno eclesiástico dadas al Don Francisco de Toledo. 28 de Diciembre de 1568." LC, Ursuline Collection.

3. "Friars are now taking over the *doctrinas* assigned to them although the archbishop and the prelates commonly do not approve of this." "Carta de Francisco de Toledo a S. M." Los Reyes, February 8, 1570, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, III, 392.

that time, it is an almost impossible task. The list of these Indian parishes is as follows:

1. In the valley of Lima: Santiago de Surco and Magdalena Vieja.

The exact year when the Franciscans began to work in these pueblos is not known. They certainly had a residence there by 1550,⁴ though the friars did not receive official permission for these convents until 1557.⁵ Nor is it known when the parishes themselves were assigned to the friars, but the earliest known presentation of a Franciscan pastor dates only from February 20, 1570. It is possible that up to that time, the friars ministered to the natives of the two pueblos at the good pleasure of the Archbishop of Lima. After that time, their tenure was permanent.

The *doctrina* of Magdalena, about one-half league from Lima, comprised three Indian *parcialidades* which in pre-Hispanic times had contained a large native population numbering many thousands.⁶ In 1583, only 1,456 natives remained; and these were decimated in 1589 by a severe epidemic of smallpox and measles.⁷

Santiago de Surco in pre-Hispanic times had also been the center of a numerous native population and lay about two leagues from the city of Lima. During the sixteenth century, several viceroys maintained their summer residence in this pueblo. Sometimes the conduct of the viceroys

4. "Informe de D. Luis Luyan, cajique en el pueblo de Pachacamac y Chosna. . . ." See note 63, page 16, *supra*.

5. On August 14, 1557, the cacique of Magdalena gave to the Franciscans the ground on which the convent stood. The viceroy, Marqués de Cañete, was present at the ceremony and ratified it on the spot. See "Donacion y posesion de la casa de la Magdalena, 14 de Agosto de 1557." ASFL, registro 14, número 3. The original document has been cut from this *registro* of the archives. However a certified copy of the original, made in 1587, remains, as well as the *sobre carta* of the original with the title as given above. It says also that Don Gonzalo, principal cacique of this valley of Lima, gave this ground to the friars because they possessed it without any title. It is very possible that the gentleman who cut this document from the archives later published it as "La Iglesia de la Magdalena," RANP, VI (1928), 13 f. The document which records the granting of the site of the convent in Surco has also been cut from the volume in the archives. Here again a certified copy, made in 1587, and the *sobre carta* with the title remain. "Confirmacion de los titulos que tiene el monasterio de San Francisco

de una casa, guerta, y tierras que tiene en el valle de Surco, 2 de Diciembre de 1557." ASFL, registro 14, número 4. Don Francisco, Don Diego Tauli and Don Pedro, principal caciques of the valley of Surco, donated the ground on which the residence and church were standing.

6. The three *parcialidades* were: Magdalena, Guatca and Marangá. Both Marangá and Surco in pre-Hispanic times are said to have been centers of 10,000 families. See Sebastián Lorente, "Descripción del Imperio," *Revista Peruana*, III (1879), 499. Marangá was completely wiped out by the plague of 1589.

7. "Relación hecha por el Virrey D. Martín Enríquez de los oficios que se proveen en la gobernación de los reinos y provincias del Perú, 1583," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 196. (Hereafter referred to as "Relación de Enríquez.") In effect this report was also a census. By 1592 the *doctrina* of Magdalena had three *cofradías*: Nuestra Señora, Santísimo Sacramento and San Marcelo. There is no indication when these were begun. "Razon de los sinodos de las doctrinas de la provincia de los Doze Apóstoles." ASFL, registro 30B, documento 34. (Hereafter referred to as "Razón de los sínodos.")

and their guests was a scandal to the Indians.⁸ In 1583 the pueblo numbered 1,508 natives,⁹ though this sum was sharply reduced by the epidemic of 1589 which ravaged this area despite the services of a Spanish physician from Lima¹⁰ and extraordinary medicinal aid supplied by the viceroy.¹¹

2. In the valleys south of Lima.

Shortly after the suppression of the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, the Franciscans seem to have commenced systematic instruction of the natives dwelling in the valleys south of the capital. By 1550, they were active in Pachacamac, Mala, Coayllo, Calango, Chilca down to the valley of Chincha excluded.¹² Apparently the dense population and the pleasant climate of these valleys had attracted the attention of zealous Spanish priests and even laymen at an early date. The effect of their labors may perhaps be glimpsed in the donation made on September 25, 1547, by the cacique of the valley of Luna-Huaná, D. Jerónimo Acoasca, to the church of Santa María del Reposo.¹³ Of his own accord, the cacique gave to the church an orchard and a garden, apparently of quite some value. This donation was accepted by the Archbishop of Lima on September 19, 1549,¹⁴ and apparently transferred by him to the Franciscans¹⁵ together with the obligations imposed by the cacique.¹⁶

8. In 1562 Conde de Nieva gave scandal to the Indians of Surco by his freedom with some women guests. Fray Diego de Vera, then *doctrinero* of Surco, publicly reprimanded the viceroy for the scandal. This so incensed the viceroy that he told the provincial to send the friar out of the country, lest he kill him. Vera went to Spain. "Carta del Licenciado Monzon a S. M." Lima, January 2, 1563, in Levillier, *Audiencia de Lima*, I, 277 f.

9. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 195.

10. "Autos seguidos por el Licenciado Marco Antonio Gentil, médico genovés, contra los Indios de Surco, año de 1594." *RANP*, V (1927), 248.

11. The viceroy ordered medicines, beds and physicians to be supplied to Surco and Magdalena, since the hospitals and other medical facilities in those pueblos were not adequate for the large number of the stricken. See "Razón de lo que gastó Don Francisco de Quinoñés con ocasión de la epidemia de viruelas y sarampión," *RANP*, X (1939), 114. In 1592 Surco had these *cofradías*: Concepción, Santísimo Sacramento, Santiago and San Sebastián. "Razón de los sínodos." *ASFL*, registro 30B, documento 34.

12. See note 4 of this chapter.

13. The presence of the "hermitano" Machin [Martín ?] de la Cruz in Luna-Huaná is noteworthy. Apparently he was the resident *doctrinero* in 1547. See "Carta de donacion de Don Jerónimo de Acoasca." *Asiento de Paullo*, September 25, 1547. *ASFL*, registro 14, parte 1.

14. The acceptance is written at the end of the document of donation as an appendix. It was signed in person by Loaysa.

15. This is the author's conclusion. He was led to this by the title written on the back of the document which states that this garden was given to the "church of Santa María de Reposo and to the friars who might be stationed there." The present location of the document and the activity of the Franciscans in the area of Pachacamac and Luna-Huaná at this time suggest that the friars who received this garden were Franciscans.

16. The conditions were: the celebration of one Mass and vigil each year on the birthday of the Blessed Mother for the cacique, and to pray for the cacique and his deceased relatives at each Mass celebrated in the church in perpetuity. Such conditions suggest that the gift was quite valuable.

By November, 1553, the Franciscans were constructing a convent in this valley despite the tenacious opposition of some persons led by the priest Francisco de Ayala,¹⁷ who resented the appointment of the Franciscans as *doctrineros* of the natives who lived on the encomienda of Diego de Agüero.¹⁸ This opposition perhaps caused the friars to abandon the convent of Luna-Huaná, for shortly after the town of Cañete was founded in 1556 in the neighboring valley of Guarco the friars erected a home there,¹⁹ possibly between the years 1564 and 1566,²⁰ from which they cared for the *doctrina* called San Juan del Guarco.²¹ This *doctrina* lay about half a mile outside the town and comprised the *yanaconas* of Cañete, some fishermen and possibly some of the natives of Calango and Coayllo.²² The total number seems to have been small and did not embrace possibly more than 350 natives.²³

A second *doctrina* in the valleys south of Lima was administered by the Franciscans near the town of Ica, called San Juan de Lurín-Ica. The friars came to this town shortly after its foundation in 1563, and in

17. In November, 1553, the friars had a residence in this valley which they were then enlarging. The opposition did not relent despite an order of the Audiencia issued in that month to that effect. On June 15, 1554, the Audiencia issued a second *provisión* naming Francisco de Ayala as the leader of the opposition and ordering him to desist. "Provision real sobre los frailes y la doctrina en el valle de Luna Huana." Los Reyes, June 15, 1554. ASFL, registro 14, parte 1 número 2.

18. This encomienda had been one of the first granted by Francisco Pizarro after the conquest of Peru had been completed. In 1553 the encomendero was Diego de Agüero, the son of the Captain Agüero to whom the original grant had been made. See "Testamento del Capitán Diego de Agüero, año de 1544," RANP, VI (1927), 167.

19. The site of Cañete was not far distant from the valley of Luna-Huaná. Only a small river separated Cañete from the Indian pueblo of that name. See Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa, *Compendium and Description of the West Indies*, trans. by Charles Upson Clark (Washington, 1942), p. 472.

20. The date for the foundation of the convent of Cañete is shown approximately from the "Informacion y testimonio del Corregidor del partido de Cañete, D. Alonso de Roa Canizares, Santiago de Pariarca, 11 de Septiembre de 1581." ASFL, registro 8, parte 3, número 2. In this document, the *corregidor* informs the Viceroy,

D. Martín Enríquez, that Marqués de Cañete, the elder, had ordered the erection of a strong fortress at Pariarca on the site of the ancient Inca fortress by Jerónimo de Zurbano. Work on this new structure had been begun, but because of the heavy expenses and the deposition and subsequent death of Cañete, work had been stopped. Licenciado Castro, who governed Peru from 1564 to 1569, then gave the Franciscans of Cañete permission to salvage from the abandoned fort the window frames and other wood which they would find useful for the construction of their convent in Cañete itself. By 1566 Castro in a long document gave the Franciscan monastery of Cañete permanent possession of certain water rights. Hence, it would seem logical to suppose that the convent was under construction sometime within 1564 and 1566, though it was not completed until sometime after 1591. See "Acatamiento de la Provision del Presidente Castro al Juez de aguas de Cañete, D. Bartolome de Fuentes. Cañete, 17 de Julio de 1566." ASFL, registro 8, parte 3, número 6.

21. The Franciscans had been in charge of San Juan since about 1558. "Las Provisiones de la Doctrina de Guarco." ASFL, registro 8, parte 3, número 6.

22. Vásquez, *op. cit.*, p. 469, declares that one friar worked with the fishermen of Cañete and another with the natives of Coayllo and Calango.

23. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 195.

1564 they received the gift of three lots from Jerónimo de Cabrera, one of the founders of the town.²⁴ Perhaps, the care of Lurín-Ica was entrusted to them at about that same time, for in 1585 the friars of this convent informed Gonzaga that they were in charge of the *doctrina* for a short time,²⁵ though this may refer not to the length of the period of the friars' service in this *doctrina* but to the date when they received permanent charge thereof. In 1583 the inhabitants of this parish numbered 7,871;²⁶ but in 1585 the friars stated that the people did not number many more than 1,500. By that time, the friars had baptized more than 10,000 Indians.²⁷

3. In the valley of Jauja.

The valley of Jauja was one of the most important regions of colonial Peru, and for a time it seemed that Pizarro would erect his capital in this province. In 1534 the Franciscans who accompanied the conquering army had lived in this province for a time, but all signs indicate that the first permanent residence was the convent established at Concepción by Fray Luis de Oña in 1548 at the invitation of the encomendero, Lorenzo Aldana.²⁸ Córdoba states that the Franciscans had worked in this province "from the beginning of its reduction," thereby seeming to intimate that the friars had been active there even before 1548.²⁹ However, this does not seem possible, since it is hardly likely that the Spanish priests had been able to accomplish much among the natives of this province until 1545, after the death of Manco Inca, who had kept this province in a state of constant turmoil.³⁰ Nor could much have been accomplished either between that time and the defeat of Gonzalo Pizarro in April, 1548, since both contending parties freely requisitioned men and supplies from the natives, and La Gasca quartered a large part of his army in this province during the winter of 1547.

When Viceroy Toledo came to the valley of Jauja in 1570, he found

24. "Memorial del convento de Ica." Ica, December 8, 1585. ASIH, leg. 2/10. The town council also gave the friars some ground. Thus "Testimonio de los dos solares otorgados por el Regimiento de la Villa de Ica a petición del Padre Fray Antonio de San Miguel para fundar un convento a 18 días del mes de Febrero de 1564." ASFL, registro 8, parte 4, número 1.

25. "Memorial del convento de Ica." Ica, December 8, 1585. ASIH, leg. 2/10.

26. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 194. Vásquez, *op. cit.*, p. 482, says that the friars had charge of the Indians of both Lurín-Ica and Hanan-Ica. In reality, Vásquez is stating the same thing as is contained in the text. Hanan-

Ica and Lurín-Ica were originally two repartimientos, whose Indians were settled in the one pueblo of San Juan de Lurín-Ica. See "Relación de Enríquez," Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 194.

27. "Memorial del convento de Ica." Ica, December 8, 1585. ASIH, leg. 2/10.

28. Gonzaga, *op. cit.*, p. 1318.

29. Diego de Córdoba y Salinas, "Teatro de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de la muy Noble Ciudad de los Reyes, llamada comunmente Lima. Lima, 5 de Marzo de 1650." NYPL, fol. 92.

30. George Kubler, "A Peruvian Chief of State: Manco Inca, 1515-1545," *HAHR*, XXIV (1944), 253-276.

a small group of Franciscans working among the natives with residence at Concepción. Despite the fact that by the time of his arrival, all of the caciques had been baptized and all of the *guacas* had been destroyed,³¹ Toledo was displeased with the haphazard organization of the work of instruction. The viceroy indicated the sites around which the dispersed natives should be settled and then ordered the Franciscan superiors in Lima to send seven friars to the province to take care of these newly established centers.³² Apparently, therefore, the towns in this part of the province grew up around the churches.

The Franciscan *doctrinas* in the valley of Jauja after 1570 were: Concepción de Jauja, San Jerónimo de Tunán, Navidad de Apata, Asunción de Matahuasi, San Francisco de Orcotuna, Concepción de Mito, Santa Ana de Sincos, Santiago de Comas, Uchubamba³³ and Andamarca.³⁴ In 1583 these parishes numbered 21,894 natives,³⁵ a number which the friars maintained had increased by more than 1,090 taxpaying Indians by 1595 for a total in that year of approximately 28,000 natives.³⁶ According to the parish records, the friars had baptized in these parishes 12,000 natives between 1570 and 1585 and had performed more than 6,000 marriages;³⁷ this is a disproportion which would seem to indicate that the majority of the natives had been baptized before the arrival of Toledo.

4. In the vicinity of Huánuco.

Some Franciscans had come to Huánuco at an early date, since Fray Pablo de Coimbra celebrated the first Mass in 1542 in the recently founded city of León de Caballeros de Huánuco.³⁸ The permanent convent of St. Bernardine, however, was not founded until November 25, 1552, by Fray Francisco Ecija and Fray Antonio Jurado.³⁹ Ap-

31. Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas*, I, 85.

32. Toledo's method may be seen from these words: ". . . in order that the friars who are lacking for the prescribed number may be supplied at once, I charge the guardian of it [i.e., the convent of Concepción] to inform the commissary general or the provincial immediately of what has been determined." "Provision del Virrey Francisco de Toledo sobre las doctrinas de Lurin-Guancas de la provincia de Jauja." Tambo de Guancallo (Huancayo), November 27, 1570. ASFL, registro 14, parte 5, número 2.

33. The *doctrina* of San Juan de Uchubamba was a "doctrina de los indios Andes." In other words it was intended for the Campa Indians, whose home was in the montaña of eastern Peru. This *doctrina*

was begun by Toledo during his visit to the valley of Jauja at the request of some chiefs of these jungle Indians.

34. "Memoria de todos los conventos." BM, Additional MSS 13997.

35. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 190.

36. "Relación de los Pueblos que estan sujetos a la cura de la horden de nuestro Padre San Francisco en este valle de Jauja, año de 1596." ASFL, registro 14, parte 5.

37. "Memorial de las doctrinas de Jauja." ASIH, leg. 2/10.

38. José de la Riva Agüero, "Los Franciscanos en el Perú," in *Provincia Franciscana de los Doce Apóstoles del Perú* (Lima, 1942), pp. 130-134.

39. "Memorial del convento de Huá-

parently these friars began at once to devote their attention to the natives of the surrounding valleys. In 1557 when Gómez Arias Dávila left Huánuco to take possession of his grant in Rupa-Rupa, a vague legendary land about twenty leagues east of the city in the territory of the Panataguas, two Franciscans accompanied the expedition, and one of them, Fray Antonio Jurado, even then was sufficiently acquainted with the language of those Indians to serve as the interpreter.⁴⁰

In 1562 the Franciscans are found serving as the *doctrineros* for the natives of the repartimiento of the Chupachos at the request of their encomendero Gómez Arias Dávila.⁴¹ At this time, although the natives had not yet been reduced, all of their caciques had been baptized and their known pagan shrines had been destroyed. The entire population, however, had not yet been converted.⁴²

The reduction of the Chupachos was ordered by Viceroy Toledo. At that time "the Indians of the repartimiento of the Chupachos and of the repartimiento which they call Mitmas de Chincau belonging to the jurisdiction of Huánuco, Francisco de Toledo reduced to three *doctrinas* in charge of the friars of St. Francis."⁴³ In 1583 the native inhabitants of these two repartimientos numbered 5,462;⁴⁴ they were served by the *doctrinas* of San Cristóval, San Miguel de Guacar and San Pedro de Acomayo, each with several dependent churches.⁴⁵ After the friars were entrusted with these parishes by Toledo, their records show that up to 1585 they had baptized a little more than 2,500 people.⁴⁶

In 1592 San Miguel de Guacar, with three mission stations, was the headquarters for the *doctrinas* of Huánuco, and four priests as well as one or two lay brothers made their residence there.⁴⁷ At this time, the names of all of the dependent churches of the two repartimientos are

nuco." Huánuco, December 20, 1585. ASIH, leg. 2/10. Fray Pablo de Coymbra signed this document.

⁴⁰. Victor M. Maúrtua (ed.), *Juicio de Límites entre el Perú y Bolivia. Prueba Peruana*, (Barcelona, 1906), V, 143. Also Salvador Romero Sotomayor, "El General Don Pedro de Arana," *Revista Histórica*, VIII (1925-1928), 125.

⁴¹. Some of the Indians in turn were aiding in the construction of the convent in Huánuco.

⁴². "Visita fecha por mandado de su Majestad e de los Señores Comisarios del su Consejo por Iñigo Ortiz de Záñiga, Visitador para ello nombrado del repartimiento de Indios encomendados en Gómez Arias Dávila vecino de Guánuco, ante Diego Muñoz Ternero, escribano," *RANP*, I (1920), 22-24.

⁴³. "Testimonio del Contador de Retazas, Pedro Antonio del Castillo." Lima, July 21, 1688. ASFL, registro 14, parte 6. Castillo was relying on documents kept in his office. He inserts part of the original decree of Toledo which was dated August 22, 1570.

⁴⁴. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 203.

⁴⁵. "Memoria de todos los conventos." BM, Additional MSS 13997.

⁴⁶. "Memorial del convento de Huánuco." Huánuco, December 20, 1585. ASIH, leg. 2/10.

⁴⁷. "Patente del nombramiento de doctrineros a las doctrinas de Huanuco del Provincial Fray Hernando de Trejo." Lima, December 15, 1592. ASFL, registro 14, parte 5.

not known,⁴⁸ and there is a strong probability that the reduction ordered by Toledo was never carried to completion. It is known that the friars served Panao, Pachapampa, Cayrán, Nausa, Chaullán, Cani (Coni ?) and Conchamarca, besides the natives employed in four mills (*obrages*) and on fourteen ranches (*estancias*).⁴⁹

5. In the vicinity of Chachapoyas.

The Franciscans possibly came to Chachapoyas at a relatively early date; they certainly had a residence there by September 7, 1552.⁵⁰ Perhaps that year may mark the time of their arrival, although there are some indications that the friars were living among the Indians even before they established a residence in the city of Chachapoyas. Thus, Levanto, the Indian pueblo which had been the site of the city of Chachapoyas when first founded in 1536, was a Franciscan *doctrina*; and it is hardly possible that such a spot would have devolved upon the Franciscans if they had not been among the first to care for the Indians there and if they had not maintained a record there of unbroken service. This is stated specifically of another Franciscan *doctrina* also in the vicinity of Chachapoyas, Chilliquín: "The repartimiento of Chilliquín has been since the foundation of the city of Chachapoyas a *doctrina* of the friars of St. Francis."⁵¹

Toledo gave the Franciscans permanent charge of the two *doctrinas* which they were administering at the time of his arrival: San Pedro de Levanto to the south of the city of Chachapoyas and San Francisco de Chilliquín to the north. Each had many dependent stations. Thus Levanto cared for San Juan de Sinche, San Miguel de Guancar, San Cristóval, San Pedro de Sisuye, Santa María de Quigachacha and Colquamar.⁵² Chilliquín was the headquarters for Goniza, Quincalxa, Goncha, Vituya, Taupa and Cuelcho.⁵³ In 1583 Chilliquín and its missions counted 2,832 inhabitants,⁵⁴ though Santo Toribio on his visit a decade later found that the total was only 1,317.⁵⁵ It is impossible,

48. Thus San Cristóval alone was said to have had eight dependent pueblos within a radius of seven leagues, each with its own church. Not one of these is known today with certainty. See "Relacion de la Ciudades, Villas y Lugares, Parrochias y Doctrinas que hay en este arzobispado de Lima, hecha por el Arzobispo de Lima." Lima, April 15, 1619. AGI, *Lima*, 301.

49. "Testimonio del Padre Fray Lorenzo Tineo sobre los anejos de Guacar." ASFL, registro 14, parte 6, fol. 75 f.

50. Compte, *Defensa*, p. 88.

51. "Relacion de la doctrina de Chilli-

quin, año de 1585." ASFL, registro 13, parte 2.

52. "Plieto de la doctrina de Levanto contra Don Manuel de Vega, año de 1592." ASFL, registro 13, parte 2.

53. "Relacion de la doctrina de Chilliquín." Cf. note 51, *supra*.

54. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 215.

55. Domingo Angulo, "Diario de la Segunda Visita pastoral que hizo de su arquidiócesis el Ilustrísimo Señor Don Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo, Arzobispo de los Reyes. Libro de Visitas, año de 1593," RANP, II (1921), 53 f.

because of the confusion in names, to arrive at satisfactory totals for the inhabitants of Levanto and its dependent churches.⁵⁶ San Pedro de Levanto itself in 1583 had 464 inhabitants,⁵⁷ but similar information for its subsidiary missions could not be obtained.

6. In the province of Cajamarca.

The Franciscans entered this province either shortly before or immediately after the execution of Atahualpa in July, 1533. When Pizarro and his army advanced towards Jauja and Cuzco, some of the friars remained in the vicinity of Cajamarca to instruct the natives. In March, 1535, Pizarro noted in the official document entrusting the Indians of this province to Melchor Verdugo that friars were then at work there among the natives, and these possibly were Franciscans.⁵⁸ It is, however, entirely possible that there were not enough Franciscans in Peru to permit a permanent assignment of some members at all times, and the recollection of the older Indians may well have been correct when in about 1583 they testified that a diocesan priest had instructed them for a short time.⁵⁹ At the same time, Lizárraga is witness to the common belief in sixteenth-century Peru that the Franciscans had been the first and the most constant instructors of the Indians of this province. He says: "The Franciscans have instructed it [i. e., the province of Cajamarca] from the beginning and they do now instruct it with much edification and Christianity."⁶⁰

La Gasca gave the friars exclusive care of the province shortly after

56. The difficulty may arise from the faulty transcription of place names in Levillier's volume, which at times in this census is so unusually bad that it is sometimes unintelligible. The names cited in the text are written in a clear hand, and hence the author considers them to be correct. Levillier's transcription of the census (*Gobernantes*, IX, 218 f.) offers some approximations. Thus his Susuya with 98 inhabitants may be the Sisuye of the text; Colcamal with 803 may be Colquamar; Guancas with 276 may be Guancar; his pueblo de San Cristóval may be the same as the San Cristóval mentioned above. Since the author is not sure, he has omitted these population figures from his account.

57. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 217.

58. "Pueblos de Mambamarca, Pumamarca, Chonda, Ychinga y Gusmango en la provincia de Cajamarca encomendados en Melchor Verdugo, año de 1535," *RANP*, IV (1926), 18 f.

59. José Toribio Polo, "Un Convento Franciscano. Relación de los Principios del Conocimiento de Dios que tuvo esta Provincia de Cajamarca y la Vida del Padre Fray Matheo de Jumilla," *Revista Histórica*, I (1906), 466-485. The topics and the order in which these are treated strongly suggest that this document was drawn up in answer to the questionnaire circulated by Francisco Gonzaga when he was gathering material for his history of the Franciscan Order. If this is true, then this document would date from 1585. Until the last years of the past century there was in the ASFL, registro 9, parte 6, número 1, a "Relacion de la fundacion del convento de San Antonio de Cajamarca." This was evidently a document of about the same length as the one published by Polo. However, this document has been cut from the bound volume in the archives of the Convento de San Francisco in Lima.

60. Lizárraga, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

he entered Peru in 1547,⁶¹ a charge which the friars maintained until 1568 or 1569, when they left the flourishing *doctrinas* to the Augustinians and to the diocesan clergy for reasons which are today unknown. Because of the pleas of the Indians and the influence of Doña Jordana Mejía,⁶² widow of the first encomendero Melchor Verdugo, Viceroy Toledo sent the Franciscans back to the province after an absence of less than a year, and at the same time gave them permanent charge of the *doctrinas* which they had merely administered before.

The most famous Franciscan to labor in this province was the lay brother, Fray Mateo de Jumilla. A sincere and zealous man, he traversed the entire province on foot with a band of Indian children to whom he had taught Christian hymns and the Christian doctrine. Some of these children preceded him to the towns which he was to visit to prepare the people there for his arrival, while the rest stayed with him and helped him to instruct their fellows. To these instructions Jumilla added the strong argument of his own exemplary Christian life—a life of prayer, charity and kindness to the Indians and of personal mortification.⁶³ Although a lay brother, Jumilla composed his own catechism, and each morning at about eight o'clock, 8,000 to 10,000 children were wont to come together throughout the province to sing his compositions. Fray Dionisio de Oré states that many years later the Indians still sang the hymns which they had learned from this exceptional friar.⁶⁴ On the other hand, Jumilla was also alert to the need of rooting out the pagan religion. On his frequent trips through the province he made a point to search out the ancient pagan idols and their shrines and to destroy them. The garments found in these shrines were given to the poor natives, while the objects of gold and silver were converted into vessels of Christian worship.⁶⁵ His observations regarding the ancient religion may perhaps be contained in "De Ritibus Indorum," a volume which now appears to have been lost.⁶⁶

When the Franciscans came to the province of Cajamarca, the natives lived in more than 500 small villages, three to five miles apart. Gregorio González de Cuenca reduced the natives to a much smaller number of villages apparently before 1565.⁶⁷ Despite this prior reduction, Toledo decided to make a further reduction. As he wrote:

61. Polo, *op. cit.*, p. 471 f.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 472.

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 475-479.

64. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Dionisio de Ore." BNL, registro 35, fol. 16b.

65. Polo, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-478.

66. In the "Relación de las Costumbres Antiguas de los Naturales del Pirú, Anónima," in Marcos Jiménez de la Es-

pada, *Tres Relaciones de las Antigüedades Peruanas*, p. 142, n. 2, the author speaks of a Franciscan, Fray Matheo de los Angeles, as the author of this work. He states that this Fray Matheo died a saintly death in Cajamarca. Could this be our Fray Matheo de Jumilla who labored in Cajamarca but who died in Chachapoyas?

67. Polo, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

I do not know that anything of importance has been accomplished here for some years in this matter [namely, the matter of reductions] except in the province of Cajamarca, where it is necessary to make another reduction into fewer towns so that each one may contain a larger number of Indians, because although in the past many [towns] have been founded, the natives still remain extremely dispersed and almost the same handicaps to their efficient instruction remain as before.⁶⁸

Accordingly, Toledo sent Francisco Alvarez de Cueto in 1572 to inspect the province and to make the necessary changes.⁶⁹ Cueto found that the province at that time contained 40,491 inhabitants and these he reduced into seventeen villages. This was the final reduction.⁷⁰ In 1583 the official registration shows only 26,126 natives in the province,⁷¹ but the friars at about that same time claimed that the native population numbered more than 50,000 on the grounds that births had substantially outnumbered deaths from all causes since the time of Cueto's visit.⁷²

In the sixteenth century, the Franciscans cared for fourteen *doctrinas* in this province: San Antonio de Cajamarca, Santiago de Nepos, Santísima Trinidad, San Pedro de Chalaques, Todos Santos de Chota, Asunción de Nuestra Señora, San Francisco de Guzmango, Nombre de Jesús,⁷³ San Marcos, San Gabriel de Cascas, San Miguel de Cajamarca, Santa Cruz, San Mateo de Contumaza and Celendín.⁷⁴ These were all central *doctrinas*, and some had dependent churches. San Marcos had "some mission stations"⁷⁵ and Chalaques had two: San Luis and Llallán.⁷⁶ Trinidad had some stations also but only Santa Clara is known.⁷⁷ Tacabamba was a mission station of Chota,⁷⁸ San Gregorio and Xibonique of Nepos,⁷⁹ San José of Asunción,⁸⁰ and Magdalena of Contumaza.⁸¹ After these *doctrinas* had been entrusted permanently to the friars in

68. "Carta del Virrey Francisco de Toledo a S. M." Los Reyes, February 8, 1570, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, III, 341 f.

69. Zimmerman, *op. cit.*, p. 122. An example of the instructions given by Toledo to these visitors may be found in "Visita General del Virrey Toledo," *Revista Histórica*, VII (1921-1925), 115-216.

70. Polo, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

71. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 210.

72. Polo, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

73. For many years a friar had gone from Nombre de Jesús four or five times a year to instruct the natives on the horse ranches in the valley of Celendín. On February 28, 1591, Celendín was made a separate *doctrina*. "Autos hechos per Melchior de Figueroa, visitador eclesiástico de la provincia de Cajamarca, sobre la nueva

doctrina que hizo para los Indios que están en las estancias del asiento y valle de Celendín." Pueblo de San Marcos, February 28, 1591. ASFL, registro 13, parte 2.

74. All of these *doctrinas* with the exception of Celendín are found in the "Memoria de todos los conventos." BM, Additional MSS 13997. Santo Toribio in 1592 stated that the Franciscan Fray Alonso García was in charge of the large *doctrina* of Guamachuco with 1,700 inhabitants. This seems to be an error. Angulo, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

75. *Ibid.*, p. 246.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 259.

77. *Ibid.*, p. 258.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 259.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 260.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

81. *Ibid.*, p. 257.

1570 up to about 1585, 41,288 Indians had been baptized and 10,306 marriages performed according to an incomplete file of parish records.⁸²

7. In the vicinity of Chiclayo.

A Franciscan had come from Cajamarca in 1533 to work among the natives residing in the vicinity of Lambayeque, but the first permanent residence in this area was offered to the friars in May, 1551, by Lope de Ayala, Luis de Atienza, Martin de Olarte, Diego de Vergallos and the young sons of Juan de Barbarán, all encomenderos. In that year these men contracted with the guardian of the convent of Trujillo that if he would supply four friars to instruct their Indians, they would erect in the valley of Collique a large church and a residence with six private rooms, a refectory, as well as a *tambo* in which the friars could instruct the Indians. Moreover, they bound themselves to furnish

for each friar one habit of Castilian wool each year, two sets of vestments to celebrate Mass: two chasubles, two altars, two frontals, two sets of corporals, two chalices, two albs, two maniples with stoles and amices, one retablo, one set of irons to make hosts, two missals, and each year six bottles of wine, six of olive oil and one *quintal* of wax, and one large bell and two small ones.⁸³

While Lope de Ayala states that the friars had already agreed in 1551 to erect a monastery in the valley of Collique, apparently this was not done until some years later, although the friars may well have begun their instruction of the Indians in that year. Only on July 20, 1559, did Viceroy Marqués de Cañete give the friars permission to construct a residence at Chiclayo.⁸⁴ On March 14, 1561, the Conde de Nieva gave Fray Antonio de la Concepción and Fray Luis de Astorga 1,200 pesos to aid in the construction of the large church at the same place.⁸⁵ Both the church and especially the convent of Chiclayo have merited some praise because of their artistic construction.⁸⁶

It is not exactly clear how many *doctrinas* the friars administered in the vicinity of Chiclayo. Partially this uncertainty may be due to the rearrangement of the natives in the successive enforced reductions in the course of which some old names disappeared or took on new

82. Polo, *op. cit.*, p. 472. By 1592 each Franciscan *doctrina* in this province had two *cofradias*: Concepción and Santísimo Sacramento. Thus, "Razón de los sínodos." ASFL, registro 30B, documento 34.

83. "Testamento de Don Lope de Ayala." Trujillo, May 9, 1551. ASFL, registro 9, parte 1, fol. 51. The title of this document is written in a much later hand than that of the document itself. It is evident that the title is inaccurate.

84. "Provision del Conde de Nieva sobre

el convento de Chiclayo." Los Reyes, March 14, 1561. ASFL, registro 9, parte 2, documento 1.

85. *Ibid.* This church collapsed before 1572 and was replaced with some difficulty. Several documents concerning the new church can be found in ASFL, registro 9, parte 2.

86. Vásquez, *op. cit.*, p. 396. Also Harold E. Wethey, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* (Cambridge, Mass., 1949), p. 124.

significations which are not always explained. To judge from the names of the encomenderos who made the original agreement with the friars of Trujillo, it would seem that the Indians of perhaps most of the repartimientos which lie between Trujillo and colonial Saña were entrusted at one time to the Franciscans. By 1589 the Franciscans stated officially that they retained only these *doctrinas*: Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Chiclayo, Magdalena de Etén⁸⁷ and San Miguel de Farcapa.⁸⁸ However in 1592, the provincial in office at that time, Fray Hernando Trejo, adds the names of Cinto and Collique with the title of *doctrinas*.⁸⁹ These two names are a bit confusing, for although both Collique and Cinto were pre-Hispanic settlements and are called pueblos by Viceroy Enríquez in 1583,⁹⁰ generally these two names during the colonial era signify the repartimientos in which Chiclayo, Etén and Farcapa were located.⁹¹

Because of the lack of precise information concerning the names and extension of the *doctrinas* near Chiclayo, it is impossible today to furnish firm figures of the number of Indians cared for by the friars. However, if the Franciscan *doctrinas* embraced the two repartimientos of Cinto and Collique, as appears most likely, then in 1583 the friars had charge of 4,698 natives.⁹² To these should be added the people of Farcapa, who belonged to the repartimiento of Saña and who in 1593 numbered a total of 4,990.⁹³ These Indians spoke the Yunga or Mochica language and had formerly belonged to the Chimú empire.

87. Etén was the scene of a miraculous vision of the Child Jesus seen in the host during the Corpus Christi festival of June 2, 1649. This event caused a great deal of comment and is commemorated in an original painting now hanging in the "Descalzos" convent in Lima. The original depositions concerning this happening taken by Diego de Córdoba may be found in ASFL, registro 9, parte 2, documento 26. Córdoba then published an account which is reprinted in Rubén Vargas Ugarte, *Impresos Peruanos* (Lima, 1949), pp. 43-47. See also Carlos Romero, "Un Manuscrito Interesante," *Revista Histórica*, X (1936), 289-363, for another version by Justo Modesto Rubiños y Andrade, pastor of Morrope. This author thought that the Franciscans had not yet "invented" guardians by 1649.

88. "Memoria de todos los conventos." BM, Additional MSS 13997. Also Vásquez, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

89. "Razón de los sínodos." ASFL, registro 30B, documento 34.

90. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 208.

91. Espada does not help to clear up the confusion by enumerating Chiclayo as a repartimiento with Collique and Cinto. See *Relaciones Geográficas*, I, CXL. Vásquez, *op. cit.*, p. 699, does the same. However, neither Viceroy Enríquez (*loc. cit.*) nor Viceroy Toledo refers to a repartimiento of Chiclayo, although they do refer to Cinto and Collique in this way. See Enrique Torres Saldamando, "Apuntes Históricos sobre las Encomiendas del Perú," *Revista Peruana*, III (1879), 253.

92. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 208.

93. Angulo, *op. cit.*, p. 228. By 1592 the Chiclayo *doctrinas* had these *cofradías*. Chiclayo proper had: Concepción, Animas, Santa Ana de Mostrencos and Santísimo Sacramento. "Razón de los sínodos." ASFL, registro 30B, documento 34. The Santísimo Sacramento was begun on June 22, 1590. "Mandamiento de la erección de la cofradía del Santísimo Sacramento en la doctrina de Chiclayo." ASFL, registro 9, parte 2, número 3. Etén had these *cofradías*: Nuestra Señora and Animas.

8. In the vicinity of Trujillo.

The Franciscans cared for two *doctrinas* near Trujillo: Santa Ana de Mansiche and Guanchaco, the port of Trujillo.⁹⁴ The exact year is not known when the friars began their activities among the peoples of these two pueblos, but certainly the friars thought that they had been among the very first.⁹⁵ This belief is bolstered by the fact that the church of Mansiche was "the oldest of the churches of Trujillo."⁹⁶ The Franciscan convent in Trujillo itself was begun by Fray Francisco de la Cruz in 1536, possibly in the month of February. The friars who cared for the two *doctrinas* resided there. In 1583 in the repartimiento of Chicama, which was composed of the pueblos of Mansiche, Guanchaco and Chimú (this last was not a Franciscan *doctrina*), there were 6,637 inhabitants.⁹⁷ After the Franciscans obtained permanent charge of the two *doctrinas* mentioned above, their parish records show that they had baptized 3,600 natives up to 1585: 2,000 in Mansiche and 1,600 in Guanchaco.⁹⁸

9. In the vicinity of Chancay.

Chancay was a Spanish town about nine leagues north of Lima, which some thought might prove a suitable site for the University of San Marcos. The Franciscans established a residence there sometime between 1585 and 1589,⁹⁹ although they had received permission from the Archbishop of Lima for that purpose in 1581.¹⁰⁰ The friars of this convent cared for the *doctrina* of San Juan de Guaral, a league and a half outside the city of Chancay. In 1583, the natives of this *doctrina* numbered 494, though this number was greatly diminished a short time thereafter by an epidemic of smallpox and in 1593, only 145 inhabitants remained.

94. Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas*, I, CXXXIX.

95. "Memorial del convento de Trujillo," ASIH, leg. 2/10.

96. Rubén Vargas Ugarte, "La Fecha de la Fundación de Trujillo," *Revista Histórica*, X (1936), 232.

97. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 207.

98. "Memorial del convento de Trujillo," ASIH, leg. 2/10.

99. The convent of Chancay does not appear in the list of Franciscan residences published by Gonzaga in 1587 from information gathered in 1585, but it is included in the 1589 report. Hence it was founded sometime between the end of 1585 and April, 1589. Mendiburu, *op. cit.*, VII, 94, states that the Franciscans erected

a convent in honor of St. Bonaventure in Chancay in 1562 at a cost of 42,000 pesos. If this is true, then the friars abandoned Chancay shortly after this convent had been finished and returned two decades later to erect a second home in that town. This hardly seems probable.

100. "Licencia del Excelentísimo Señor Don Toribio Mogrovejo a los frailes franciscos para fundar un convento en la villa de Arnedo de Chancay." Santo Domingo de Yungay, June 21, 1581. ASFL, registro 7, parte 3, número 1. In November, 1585, the Jesuit provincial, Juan de Atienza, gave to the friars two lots which adjoined the land already held by the Franciscans. "Carta de donacion, cesion y traspaso." Los Reyes, November 22, 1585. LC, Harkness Collection, no. 826.

10. In the province of Collaguas.

The Franciscans came to this province at the invitation of the encomenderos at an early date, possibly during the years 1540-1545. Fray Juan de Monzón, one of the reputed twelve companions of Niza, began the work of evangelization.¹⁰¹ In 1547, when Fray Jerónimo de Villacarrillo was forced to flee from Lima, he found refuge among the natives of this province until he could escape into Charcas.¹⁰² This circumstance would seem to argue for a prior acquaintance of some length which would engender such mutual confidence. The arrival of the Franciscans in the province at about 1545 is also stated in the official report of a committee composed of a Dominican, Augustinian and Mercedarian friar issued about 1585. Their report states in part:

The friars of St. Francis entered the province of Collaguas about forty years ago. They have baptized all the Indians . . . and erected in all the villages churches and convents, and with their salary and alms they have helped to furnish the sacristies with many church vestments and ornaments.¹⁰³

When the friars entered this province, they found the natives strongly devoted to their idols and to the worship of the sun as well as of certain mountains. Fray Juan de Monzón and Fray Juan de Chávez attacked this obstacle directly by gathering those idols which they could and destroying them. The mountains were sanctified to Christian usage by the erection of crosses and shrines. On one occasion the friars had gathered at Lari such a large quantity of pagan objects that fifty to sixty Indians were required to carry them to the spot where the objects were either burned or destroyed and their ashes strewn in the river. On another occasion while Fray Monzón was searching for the principal idol of the province, he felt that he was in danger of his life

101. "Memorial de las doctrinas de la provincia de los Collaguas." ASIH, leg. 2/10.

102. Villacarrillo had come to Peru as the leader of the second group of Franciscans. He walked from Paita to Cuzco and was present in that city at the outbreak of the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, an act which the friar reprehended in a sermon. This frankness caused his exile, and the friar went to Lima where he witnessed the embarrassment of Fray Francisco de Santana in the plot of Juan de la Torre and the consequent expulsion of the guardian. General Vela Núñez named Villacarrillo executor of his estate shortly before his execution on November 11, 1546. Shortly thereafter, early in 1547, the friar received a secret visit from a

Licenciado Gamboa, who claimed that Cepeda had offered him a reward of 35,000 pesos if he would kill La Gasca. Villacarrillo advised the young man first to go to confession and then to put his other affairs in order and to refuse the task. ("Carta del Licenciado Gamboa a S. M." Jauja, December 31, 1547, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, III, 373.) Villacarrillo's advice provoked a visit from the terrible Francisco de Carvajal, who strangely enough merely threatened the friar but did not kill him. However, the friar recognized his danger and fled the city to seek shelter first with the Collaguas and later in Charcas.

103. "Parecer acerca de las doctrinas de los Collaguas." ASFL, registro 15, parte 5.

when his purpose was disclosed to the more than 2,000 Indians gathered in the church patio awaiting the start of their doctrinal instruction. (The report does not say who informed the natives, but possibly the informers were some pagan priests.) Despite the resentment which the Indians felt at the destruction of their idols, no harm came to Monzón.¹⁰⁴

At the time of the conquest, the natives of this province lived in numerous small villages which ordinarily contained only fifty to one hundred inhabitants.¹⁰⁵ Viceroy Toledo reduced these small settlements into twelve large villages,¹⁰⁶ whose inhabitants numbered 28,113.¹⁰⁷ At the same time, the viceroy gave the *doctrinas* of the province to the permanent care of the Franciscans.¹⁰⁸ Normally twelve friars resided in the province. Up to 1585, the parish records reveal, the friars had baptized more than 30,000 Indians and performed more than 10,000 marriages.¹⁰⁹

Despite Toledo's order to the Franciscans to staff these *doctrinas*, Fray Jerónimo de Villacarrillo, then commissary general, surrendered all of the *doctrinas* to the Bishop of Cuzco shortly after the departure of the viceroy in 1581.¹¹⁰ The Indians of the province did not take kindly to the diocesan clergy appointed by the bishop, and through their caciques made their displeasure known to the authorities both in Peru and in Spain. Thus in January, 1586, the caciques stated before an official board, some of whose members were the newly appointed diocesan clergymen:

The friars of St. Francis built the churches which exist in this entire province and adorned them with vestments and other sacred objects of much beauty. These friars remained with us until about two years ago, when they left the *doctrinas* and returned to their convents at the order of Fray Jerónimo Villacarrillo, their commissary. This saddened the Indians so much that every day they weep for the Franciscan priests and they are so attached to them that they love and respect them tenderly and they have tried with all their might that they should return to take charge of these *doctrinas*. In place of the friars have come clerics of the Order of St. Peter [i. e., diocesan priests]; these are not as welcome as the friars.¹¹¹

104. "Memorial de las doctrinas de la provincia de los Collaguas." ASIH, leg. 2/10.

105. *Ibid.*

106. Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas*, II, 42.

107. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 175.

108. This statement is contained in "Real cedula al Virrey del Peru, Marques de Cañete, sobre las doctrinas de Collaguas." Madrid, January 6, 1594. ASFL, registro 13, parte 3.

109. "Memorial de las doctrinas de la

provincia de los Collaguas." ASIH, leg. 2/10. By 1586 there were several *cofradias* in the Collaguas *doctrinas*. They were recent foundations. (Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas*, II, 52.) Possibly these were Animas and Santisimo Sacramento.

110. Villacarrillo took this step entirely on his own responsibility. He had not consulted with either his advisory council or the viceregal authorities.

111. "Relación de la Provincia de los Collaguas," in Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas*, II, 48 f.

The petitions of the Indians were heard, for the Conde de Villar, Toledo's successor,¹¹² ordered Fray Hernando Majuelo, then provincial (1583-1586), to send the friars back to that part of the province which is called Yanqui-Collaguas.¹¹³ Because of the continued insistence of the caciques,¹¹⁴ García Hurtado de Mendoza on March 20, 1590, commanded the friars to return to the *doctrinas* of Lari-Collaguas also and ordered the *corregidor* to see to it that this order was obeyed. By July 14, 1590, this had been accomplished.¹¹⁵ Later, on October 19, 1590, the viceroy informed the Bishop of Cuzco, Gregorio de Montalvo, of his decision.¹¹⁶

The conduct of the viceroys in this matter of the *doctrinas* of the Collaguas seems to have been deliberately discourteous towards the prerogatives of the Bishop of Cuzco. The bishop, of course, had not agreed to the cession of these posts, and he began a legal action against the Franciscan provincial to regain them.¹¹⁷ Finally in 1591, the matter was compromised. The bishop agreed that the friars should serve in those repartimientos which belonged to the king, while his priests should serve in those which were granted to encomenderos. Specifically, the bishop took charge of Lari, Madrigal, Ichupampa and Maca.¹¹⁸ A royal

112. This information is contained in "Requerimiento y Notificación que el Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo Señor Obispo del Cuzco, Fray Gregorio de Montalvo, mando hacer al muy Reverendo Fray Hernando de Trejo sobre las doctrinas de Collaguas." Guamanga, November 13, 1590. ASFL, registro 13, parte 3.

113. These *doctrinas*, eight in number, are contained in the "Memoria de todos los conventos." BM, Additional MSS 13997.

114. These caciques were: Juan Alanoca, Miguel Nina Taype, Francisco Inca Pacta, Diego Hacha of Yanqui-Collaguas, Miguel and Juan Caqui, Felipe Alpaca, Juan Coaquira, Juan Suyo of Lari-Collaguas, Luis Ala and Francisco Anti Ala of Cabana-Collaguas. See "Poder de los caciques principales de la provincia de Collaguas otorgado a Don Juan Duran de Figueroa, vecino de Arequipa, para representarles en la corte real." Yanqui-Collaguas, December 8, 1589. ASFL, registro 15, parte 5.

115. "Testimonio del Corregidor de la Provincia de Collaguas como los Padres doctrinantes de San Francisco tomaron posesión de las doctrinas." Pueblo de Yanqui, July 14, 1590. ASFL, registro 13, parte 3. A certified copy of this original is contained in registro 15, parte 5.

116. "Provision del Virrey Don García Hurtado de Mendoza sobre nombramiento

de frailes doctrineros a las doctrinas de la provincia de Collaguas." Los Reyes, October 19, 1590. ASFL, registro 15, parte 5. The friars named were: Pedro Román, guardian, Luis Jerónimo de Oré, Bernardo de Navarette, Martín de Prado, Lorenzo Martínez, Antonio Ruiz, Hernando Martínez, Antonio Carranco, Jerónimo de Tapia, Martín de Urbina, Francisco de Zamora, Pedro de Orobio.

117. See "Requerimiento y Notificación," in note 112, *supra*. This document also contains Trejo's answers to the bishop's charges. Trejo states clearly the attitude of the Franciscan superiors in sixteenth-century Peru towards the *doctrinas*. The Franciscans were anxious to aid in the instruction of the Indians, but they did not wish to accept *doctrinas*. Those which they then held, they were anxious to surrender to the bishops as soon as possible. They had retained the Collaguas *doctrinas* only because they had been expressly so commanded and because these *doctrinas* belonged to the king from whom the friars had received so many favors.

118. "Licencia que dio el Reverendísimo del Cuzco, Don Fray Gregorio de Montalvo, a los religiosos franciscos que están en Collaguas." Los Reyes, April 3, 1591. ASFL, registro 15, parte 5. The wording

decree of 1594 in answer to renewed complaints by the caciques theoretically nullified this compromise of 1591,¹¹⁹ but there is no evidence that this decree had any effect in reality. The province henceforth remained divided between the diocesan clergy and the Franciscans.

Because of the litigation mentioned above, the names of the Collaguas *doctrinas* are found in many extant documents. The complete list of those cared for by the friars before the renunciation of Villacarrillo is: Asunción de Chivay, Santiago de Coporaque, San Antonio de Callalli, Los Reyes de Achoma, San Pedro de Tisco, San Francisco de Tute, Concepción de Lari-Collaguas, Santiago de Madrigal, San Juan de Cibayo, Concepción de Yanqui-Collaguas, San Juan Bautista de Ichubamba and Santa Ana de Maca.

11. In the vicinity of Arequipa.

Fray Francisco de Vitoria, first Commissary General of Peru, was responsible for the erection of the first permanent convent in Arequipa, as he had been also in Huamanga and Huánuco. In 1552 he sent Fray Hernando Barrionuevo and Fray Alonso Rincón to the city for that purpose.¹²⁰ Lucas Martínez Vegazo¹²¹ gave a small plot of ground to the friars on which a small chapel and residence were erected in 1553.¹²² In 1556, Fray Jerónimo de Villacarrillo made available a large lot on which a more becoming church and convent were erected under Fray Jerónimo's personal direction. The present church of San Francisco was erected in 1569 by Gaspar Báez under contract from the guardian, Fray Francisco de Olivares.¹²³ Collaguas Indians aided in the erection of this church.¹²⁴

It is not known when the friars began to instruct the Indians near Arequipa, but it is possible that the friars may have begun their work even before the establishment of a residence in that city. Certainly the friars were active among the Collaguas Indians before that time, and these Indians were under the jurisdiction of the *corregidor* of Arequipa. It was Viceroy Toledo, however, who gave the friars permanent charge of several *doctrinas* near the city: Pocsi, Puquina and the *yanaconas* of

of this document reflects Montalvo's conviction that the bishop had the final disposition of the *doctrinas* in his diocese. Perhaps this was the reason for his frequent difficulties with the viceroys, because in colonial Spanish America, the bishop did not enjoy this power.

119. See "Real cédula," in note 108, *supra*.

120. Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas*, II, XVI, says Vitoria sent Barrionuevo to

Arequipa; Mendoza, *op. cit.*, p. 49, says Vitoria sent Rincón; Gonzaga, *op. cit.*, p. 1314, just says that Vitoria sent two friars.

121. "Memoria de la Santa Iglesia de Arequipa," *Revista Peruana*, IV (1880), 489.

122. Gonzaga, *op. cit.*, p. 1314.

123. Emilio Harth-terré, *Artífices en el Virreinato del Perú* (Lima, 1945), p. 27.

124. Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas*, II, XVI.

Arequipa itself.¹²⁵ San Francisco de Pocsi was a pueblo which lay about five leagues outside the city. In 1583, it counted 2,257 inhabitants.¹²⁶ Puquina in that same year had 2,006.¹²⁷ Both were cared for by friars from the convent of Arequipa. The *yanaconas* in 1575 at the time of Toledo's visit numbered 514 tribute-paying Indians.¹²⁸ Usually the total population may be arrived at by multiplying the number of tribute payers by five; in this case, the total *yanaconas* in Arequipa would approximate 2,570.¹²⁹

12. At the Huancavelica mercury mines.

While Viceroy Toledo was visiting his jurisdiction, he recognized the value of the famous mercury mines near Huancavelica. The mercury process of extracting silver had only recently been introduced into Peru. The viceroy set about organizing a regular supply of Indian workers who were to assist in the mining of the mercury. He decreed that the Indian labor force should number 3,660 and this number should be filled by recruiting Indian men for a work period of several months from the surrounding provinces, among them from the province of Jauja. Toledo also ordered that four priests should care for the spiritual needs of these Indians: two diocesan clergymen and two Franciscans. The friars were to care for 1,826 Indians, of whom 520 would always be from the province of Jauja. Each day the friars were to visit their Indians at their work to see to it that those who were sick were sent to the local hospital, and in general to supervise the conditions under which the natives were working. On Sundays and feast days, the mine officials had to see to it that the Indians came to their respective church for instruction and Mass.¹³⁰ The friars had been performing their assigned work to the satisfaction of all, when Fray Antonio Ortiz, Commissary General, in 1590 ordered the friars to withdraw from Huancavelica because "the two or three friars who ordinarily resided there were suffering great

125. "Presentaciones reales de los doctrineros de indios de esta provincia de los Doce Apóstoles de Lima, año de 1598-1621." ASFL, registro 15, parte 5.

126. "Relación de Enriquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 175. Pocsi is here called Pocosi.

127. *Ibid.*

128. Enrique Torres Saldamando, "Apuntes Históricos sobre las Encomiendas del Perú," *Revista Peruana*, III (1879), 333.

129. Of course, this sum is only an approximation. Saldamando, *op. cit.*, p. 332, says that Pocsi had 440 tribute-paying Indians and its total population was 2,257. So the author, using the common colonial

method of estimating the total population, thought that the 514 tribute payers of Arequipa would equal 2,570. For some information concerning the work of the friars among the *yanaconas* of Arequipa, see "Provision del Virrey, Don Luis de Velasco, sobre los *yanaconas* de Arequipa." Los Reyes, January 14, 1598. ASFL, registro 15, parte 5.

130. "Provision del Conde de Villar sobre la doctrina de los indios de las minas de Huancavelica." Los Reyes, October 25, 1586. ASFL, registro 8, parte 9, documento 3. The viceroy was renewing the instructions of Toledo.

want and because they experienced many difficulties with the Bishop of Cuzco [Gregorio de Montalvo] concerning these *doctrinas*.¹³¹ The viceroy scolded Fray Ortiz for the withdrawal, but the commissary refused to rescind his order. The Dominicans thereupon immediately accepted the post.¹³²

13. In the vicinity of Cuzco.

As already mentioned, the Franciscans under Fray Pedro Portugués had erected a residence in 1534 outside the city of Cuzco near the parish of San Blas. This exposed convent was abandoned during the Indian rebellion and siege of Cuzco, and in 1538 a second residence was built within the city¹³³ at a spot called Cassana.¹³⁴ This in turn was likewise abandoned late in 1547 when Gonzalo Pizarro's forces retook the city and inaugurated a reign of terror against all dissident elements.¹³⁵ After the defeat of the rebels in April of the following year, the Franciscans returned to Cuzco and some years later acquired the site on which the present convent of San Francisco stands.¹³⁶

Despite the fact that the Franciscans were in almost continuous residence in Cuzco from the very beginning of the conquest and despite numerous indications of their zeal on behalf of the natives of this area, almost nothing is known with certainty of their work.¹³⁷ Unfortunately the archives of the convent of San Francisco of Cuzco were stripped of almost all their valuable documents during the troubles of the past century, and these documents as yet have not reappeared. It is known that the friars administered a parish in Cuzco for some years, but they were deprived of this in 1563. After 1570 the friars served in the *doctrina* of Guallabamba about five leagues north of Cuzco. In 1570 an Indian cacique gave the friars some land in the Yucay Valley and there Fray Jerónimo de Villacarrillo erected the convent of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles (today called Urquillos), which became the ordinary residence

131. "Carta del Virrey, Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, a S. M." Callao, May 1, 1590, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, XII, 155.

132. "Provision del Virrey, Don García Hurtado de Mendoza, sobre la doctrina de los indios de las minas de Huancavelica." Los Reyes, January 7, 1591. ASFL, registro 13, parte 9, documento 4.

133. Mendoza, *op. cit.*, pp. 41 f.

134. Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, ed. by Angel Rosenblatt (Buenos Aires, 1943), II, 115.

135. "Carta del Licenciado La Gasca al Consejo de Indias." Jauja, December 27, 1547. *CDIHE*, XLIX, 287.

136. Mendoza, *op. cit.*, p. 42, says that

the transfer took place in 1549. Montesinos, *op. cit.*, I, 231-234, declares the friars bought the site on March 6, 1555, from Juan Rodríguez de Villalobos.

137. Thus it was Fray Antonio de San Miguel who initiated the construction of the hospital for the Indians of Cuzco. (See Inca Garcilaso, *Comentarios*, II, 115 f.) The friars also sent selected Indian young men whom they had trained to visit the villages near Cuzco to instruct the Indians in their homes. Thus "Memorial de Fray Hernando Barrionuevo y Fray Juan de Vega a S. M." Cuzco, 1563, in Emilio Lissón Chaves, *La Iglesia de España en el Perú*, II, 551.

of six friars,¹³⁸ one of whom cared for the neighboring *doctrina* of Guailabamba, which possibly counted 1,262 parishioners in 1583.¹³⁹ Mention is also made of a *doctrina* called San Francisco de Urcos,¹⁴⁰ which was cared for by the friars from Cuzco. No further details are given which might aid in the identification of this *doctrina*. There is an Urcos about eight leagues south of Cuzco which in the census of 1583 was called "a village of St. Francis" with 715 inhabitants.¹⁴¹ This may be the *doctrina* spoken of in the documents.

This completes the list of *doctrinas* cared for by the Franciscans within present Peru during the latter part of the sixteenth century. Since the friars held no official appointment for the *doctrinas* which they administered before the coming of Toledo, it is doubtful if the complete list of the *doctrinas* begun and cared for by the friars before 1570 will ever be compiled. After 1570 the Franciscans had charge of fifty-nine central *doctrinas* with a total Indian population of 118,833. This represented a little more than one-tenth of the entire native population of Peru in 1583.¹⁴²

138. Gonzaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 1316 f.

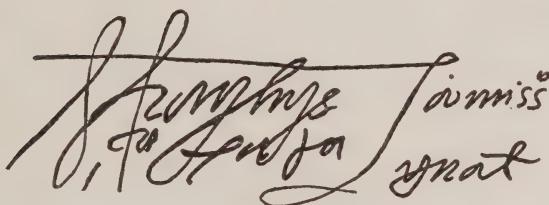
139. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 166.

140. "Presentaciones reales." See note 125, *supra*.

141. "Relación de Enríquez," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IX, 159.

142. Angel Rosenblatt, *La Población Indígena de América* (Buenos Aires, 1945),

p. 178. This author quotes with apparent satisfaction the estimate that in 1581 the total Indian population of Peru proper amounted to 1,175,089. If this figure is correct, then the Franciscans cared for about one-tenth. The Dominicans and the Mercedarians certainly were instructing many more at that time.



Organization and Methods in the Franciscan *Doctrinas*



SUALLY BEFORE ANY FRANCISCAN was appointed for work among the Indians of the *doctrinas*, he had to pass an examination in the sacred sciences, the administration of the sacraments, and in the Indian language of the region, given by a board appointed by the Franciscan superiors.¹ The last part of the examination was probably the most bothersome in the first decades of the evangelization of Peru. In the beginning the superiors would send out friars who did not understand the native languages. In these cases an Indian interpreter, often selected from among the Indians who had lived with the fathers in their convents, was used. During the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when large numbers of creoles and some mestizos became friars, the language difficulty became less important.² Moreover, with the increase in friars, the superiors no longer needed to push the arrivals fresh from Spain into mission work without first learning the native tongues. For this reason, too, the Spanish friars who came to Peru in the last decades of the century were largely recruited among the young men who had not yet completed their theological training in order that they might learn one or more of the Indian tongues in Lima, Huánuco, Huamanga or Cuzco, while completing their studies. The viceroys frequently voiced their disapproval of the policy of sending such young friars to Peru since they could not be put immediately to work among

1. The information concerning the organization and the training, appointment and life of the Franciscan *doctrinero* is taken from the "Constituciones de la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles de Lima, años de 1580, 1592 and 1595." ASFL, registro 36, número 1.

2. The need for friars who were experts in the Aymará language remained acute down to at least 1583. In fact Villacarrillo gave as the excuse for his surrender of the Collaguas *doctrinas* at that

time the fact that he did not have at his disposition enough Aymará-speaking friars to staff the parishes adequately. At the same time he stated that there were many friars who knew Quechua well. See "Requerimiento y Notificación que el Ilustrísimo y Reverendísimo Señor Obispo de Cuzco, Fray Gregorio de Montalvo, mando hazer al muy Reverendo Fray Hernando de Trejo sobre las doctrinas de Collaguas." Guamanga, November 13, 1590. ASFL, registro 13, parte 3.

the Indians;³ the explanation of the superiors satisfied the Crown, and the practice was continued almost to the end of the century.⁴

In the beginning the Franciscan superiors had almost complete liberty. But as these parishes developed, the bishops were anxious to extend their control over them and to have a voice in the appointment or removal of the Franciscan pastors. The bishops acted in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent which had greatly strengthened episcopal control in all matters concerning the appointment of pastors and their manner of administering their parishes. The friars, favoring the continuance of the ancient custom of managing their own affairs, appealed to the Crown, which decided in their favor. Francisco de Toledo was thereupon ordered to curb the episcopal pretensions as contrary to the privileges of royal patronage. The religious superiors were to remain free to manage their own affairs without interference from the bishops. To appoint a friar to a *doctrina*, the provincial would merely notify the viceroy to this effect, stating the name of the friar concerned and his age, and testifying that he knew the language of the natives of the area, and that he had passed the required examinations. The viceroy would then send a document officially "presenting" the friar to the *doctrina*.⁵ Theoretically, the actual appointment was to come from the archbishop or bishop to whom the viceroy was to send a duplicate of the document of presentation, but the copy was sometimes not sent, especially when the relations between the viceroy and the prelate were not cordial; such was frequently the case.⁶

The government of the friars in the *doctrinas* in the valley of Jauja was typical.⁷ The Franciscan provincial in Lima, with the advice of his council, appointed a friar of experience and maturity as the guardian of the province of Jauja, with residence at Concepción. This guardian was

3. This was a common complaint of the viceroys. They balked at paying the transportation of men who, when they arrived in Peru, were of no immediate use. See "Carta del Virrey, Conde Nieva, a S. M." Los Reyes, September 10, 1563, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, I, 545.

4. Ernesto Schäfer, *El Consejo Real y Supremo de las Indias*, II (Sevilla, 1947), 231 f, note 149, where the minutes of the meetings of the Council of the Indies on this point are given.

5. "Real Cedula de S. M. al Presidente de la Real Audiencia de la Plata." San Lorenzo, June 1, 1574. LC, Ursuline Collection. Also, "Carta de las Religiones de Lima a S. M. Los Reyes, 28 de Noviembre de 1579. Sobre pastroniasgo de las doctrinas." AGI, *Lima*, 315.

6. Thus it is surprising to read in an official report of the Archbishop of Lima that he did not even know the names of many of the religious *doctrineros* in his archdiocese. See "Relacion de las Ciudades, Villas y Lugares, Parrochias y Doctrinas . . . hecha por el Arzobispo de Lima." Lima, April 15, 1619. AGI, *Lima*, 301.

7. Santo Toribio also singles out the organization of the Franciscan *doctrinas* of Jauja and Cajamarca for mention in his discussion of the *doctrinas* in his archdiocese. Actually Collagwas also had the same organization. See "Carta del Arzobispo de los Reyes a S. M." Province of the Andages. March 13, 1589, in Levillier, *Organización*, I, 446.

responsible for the state of Indian instruction in the area. To this end, he was given nine⁸ priests to staff the *doctrinas*, a number decided upon by the representatives of the Crown and the encomenderos of the area for the proper instruction of the natives. The provincial could send as many additional priests as he wished, but he received stipends only for the stipulated number, in this instance, nine. The guardian himself did not have charge of any *doctrina* (except for a short time in emergencies), but he saw to it that each *doctrina* would have at least one friar in attendance. The guardian also superintended the work done in the *doctrinas* under his supervision. He was required to visit each parish at least three times a year, to observe the work under way in each, to hear the complaints of the Indians, and to prepare a written report for the provincial at the end of each tour of inspection. The provincial, in turn, was obliged to visit each *doctrina* twice in every three years to remedy abuses and to encourage the friars.⁹

The friar appointed to a *doctrina* was expected to live there constantly except on Fridays, when he together with the other *doctrineros* gathered for the day at Concepción to live as did their brethren in the larger convents of the Spanish cities. At these weekly meetings some of the time was usually devoted to a discussion of a pastoral or moral problem suggested by the guardian. Doubtless, these reunions were also the occasion for recreation and mutual encouragement. Music and singing were the recommended pastimes, but some of the *doctrineros* played cards and bowled, although both these recreations were forbidden.¹⁰

At the same time, the *doctrinero* took advantage of the weekly meeting to draw the supplies which he would need for the coming week. Since no Franciscan, whether *doctrinero* or not, was permitted to have any personal property or to handle money, the salary which the law prescribed for the pastors of Indian parishes was never given to the friar himself during the sixteenth century, but was entrusted to a layman of confidence, the syndic, who lived in Concepción. The syndic would lay in a supply of goods for the friars and, with the permission of the

8. Toledo had appointed only seven friars, but by 1597 there were nine on salary and five without stipend. See "Averiguacion hecha en razon de los sinodos, año de 1597 en Jauja." ASFL, registro 14, parte 5.

9. The inspection during the third year was to be made by the commissary general or his delegate.

10. "Informaciones sobre los curas doctrineros religiosos, hechas por el Arzobispo de Lima. Los Reyes, 12 de Marzo de 1614." AGI, *Lima*, 301. These "In-

formaciones" were not intended to be unbiased but rather to uncover evidence which would bolster the position of the archbishop in his attempt to have the religious *doctrineros* ousted from their parishes. Much of the testimony is, therefore, ridiculous. Even these prejudiced witnesses could find little to complain of against the Franciscans beyond card-playing and the fact that one Franciscan *doctrinero* of Jauja had both the paper and the tools to print his own cards.

guardian, distribute them to the *doctrineros*. Both the guardian and the syndic kept account-books with entries for each *doctrinero*. These books were audited by the provincial at the time of his visit. At times some *doctrineros* failed to draw out their full salary, thinking that the surplus would revert to the Indians. But this was a mistaken notion, for the surplus went into the pockets of the encomenderos. In view of this, the provincial in 1602 ordered the friars to draw out their full salary and advised them either to give the surplus to needy natives or to some other worthy cause.¹¹

Each *doctrinero* was permitted to have two horses. The first friars were less fortunate, and they had traveled almost exclusively on foot. This was true even of some provincials as late as the 1580's, as in the case of Fray Juan de Vega who conducted his visitation of the entire province, which then included all of modern Bolivia, in this manner.¹² When, however, the parish was relatively close to a large convent, such as Surco or Magdalena, the *doctrinero* did not have a horse, and the trip to and from the *doctrina* had to be made ordinarily on foot. These restrictions kept the friars from burdening their Indians with the care of their animals.

Again, in order not to be distracted from their duties or to burden their Indians, *doctrineros* were discouraged from receiving Spanish visitors, even members of their families. Even the mother of a *doctrinero* could not remain with her son longer than the two days granted by law to any Spaniard who happened to visit an Indian pueblo. The domestic service of the residence of the *doctrinero* was to be taken care of by Indian boys or men and not by Indian women.¹³

In the beginning the Franciscans did not receive a salary but only food, cloth to make a habit a year, and wax for divine services. In time this arrangement became rather awkward, and in 1563 an attempt was made to force the Franciscans to accept their salary in money instead of

11. "Patente del Padre Provincial, Fray Francisco Ottalora, a los padres doctrineros de la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles de Lima. Guamanga, 13 de Junio de 1602." ASFL, registro 30B, documento 34, fols. 168-171b: "... pues no es de los Indios sino de los encomenderos en cuyo poder entra lo que los religiosos dexan cobrar. . . ." The provincial was anxious that the *doctrineros* should not suffer real want and at the same time that there should be some surplus from the *doctrinas* to aid in the maintenance of the houses of study in the province.

12. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Juan Gomez." BNL, registro 35, fol. 19. Fray Juan Gómez accompanied the provincial

on this visitation. The exertion brought on a heart attack from which the provincial nearly died. Fray Juan Gómez is the lay brother whose virtues have been immortalized in at least two of the *Tradiciones* of Ricardo Palma, the more famous of which is "El Alacráن de Fray Gómez." See Ricardo Palma, *Tradiciones Peruanas*, IV (Madrid, 1935), 75-80.

13. The organization and the methods developed by the Jesuits in their *doctrina* in Peru are very similar to those here described. See Rubén Vargas Ugarte, "El Método de la Compañía de Jesús en la educación del indígena. La doctrina de Juli," *Mercurio Peruano*, XV (1940), 554-566.

in kind, but the Franciscan superiors opposed it, among them the provincial, Fray Antonio de San Miguel. On October 23, 1563, the Count of Nieva, then in charge of the government of Peru, respecting the wishes of the friars, ordered the encomenderos and the caciques to pay the Franciscans in kind.¹⁴ Thus matters remained until the arrival of Don Francisco de Toledo. When this viceroy noticed that the friars were not receiving adequate support and that some were in such poverty that they could scarcely clothe and feed themselves, the viceroy decided to act. In 1570, after reminding the encomenderos of their obligations to pay the friar pastors in return for their spiritual services, Toledo decreed that henceforth the Franciscans, like the other *doctrineros*, should receive their stipend in money.¹⁵ This solution, however, did not please the Franciscan superiors, who did not wish to have anything to do with money, if it could be avoided, and especially with salaries, which might imply that they had a right to receive them. When Toledo was adamant, the Franciscan commissary general, Fray Jerónimo de Villacarrillo, threatened to surrender all the *doctrinas* if the viceroy persisted, and he appealed at the same time to the Crown.¹⁶ Philip II sided with the Franciscans; they were to continue to receive their salary in kind. Where circumstances made this impossible, they were to receive money not as a salary but as royal alms.¹⁷

Thus the stipends of the Franciscan *doctrineros* remained in most areas of Peru a curious mixture of wheat and corn; fowl and dried fish; wine, cloth and wax. The type of goods depended upon what the region produced. As an example, the *doctrineros* of Etén and San Miguel, near Chiclayo, each received:

... eight jugs of wine, one habit, one mantle, and under habits if necessary, six yards [varas] of Rouen cloth, four of Melinge [?], two reams of paper, one pound of spices, one jug of olive oil, one of vinegar, another of honey, one hog, one arroba of wax, another of soap, two of tallow, one of sugar, 120 fowls a year, 37 sheep, 12 fanegas of corn and 12 of wheat.¹⁸

14. "Provision del Virrey, Conde Nieva, a los Corregidores del Peru. Los Reyes, 23 de Octubre de 1563." ASFL, registro 9, parte 2, documento 20.

15. "Provision del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo, a los caciques y encomenderos. Los Reyes, 22 de Agosto de 1570." ASFL, registro 13, parte 3.

16. "Carta del Padre Fray Jeronimo de Villacarrillo a S. M. Los Reyes, 8 de Marzo de 1578." AGI, Lima, 314.

17. "Memoria y Instrucción de lo que el Padre Fray Métheo de Recalde . . .," in Levillier, *Organización*, I. 546.

18. "Racion que se da en especie a los religiosos en Eten y San Miguel, año de 1592." ASFL, registro 30B, documento 34, fol. 180: "A cada uno, ocho botijas de vino, un habitto, tunicas y manto, haviendo necesidad, seis varas de Rouen, cuatro de Melinge, dos manos de papel, una libra de especias, una botija de azeite, una de vinagre, otra de miel, un cebon, una arroba de cera, otra de jabon, dos de sebo, una de azucar, 120 aves en un año, 37 carneros, 12 fanegas de maiz y doze de trigo."



First Cloister, Convento de San Francisco, Cuzco (mid-sixteenth century)

Despite the drawbacks of the system, it was a safeguard against greed, while at the same time it united the *doctrinero* and his people; and in years of poor crops, the priest would be better able to sympathize with his charges in their misfortune. By the early 1600's the custom of receiving the salary predominantly in kind seems to have begun to die out, but the distaste for money which fostered it originally remained for a long time. No colonial official of the sixteenth century, ecclesiastic or lay, to our knowledge, ever made the charge that the Franciscans of Peru were amassing or trying to amass great wealth, either in real estate or in cash. It was an aspect of Franciscan life which was to aid them in their relations with the Indians and with the Spaniards as well.

The method employed by the Franciscans in Peru in the religious instruction of the Indian was substantially the same as the one developed by the Franciscans in Mexico¹⁹ and thereafter copied generally, with minor modifications, in almost all the *doctrinas* of Spanish America and later in the missions as well.²⁰ Basically, this method consisted in the com-

19. Constantino Bayle, S.J., after describing the method used commonly by the *doctrineros* of Spanish America, adds: "Los franciscanos fueron los introductores del método, y lo tenían prescrito para las doctrinas de la Orden." See Constantino Bayle, S.J., "El Campo Proprio del Sacerdote Secular en la Evangelización Americana," *Missionalia Hispanica*, III (1946), 487. The main purpose of this article was to attempt to give some idea of the part played by the diocesan clergy in the conversion of the American natives. While the purpose was certainly worthy and the subject too long neglected, Bayle attempted too much more in one article.

20. The work which describes the method of the Peruvian Franciscans of instructing the Indians was published by Fray Luis Jerónimo de Oré, *Símbolo Católico Indiano* (Lima, 1598). The text of this remarkable volume is printed in Spanish, Quechua, Aymará, with occasional remarks in Latin and other languages. It is important to note that this book does not describe a method which should be followed, but one which was being used in the Franciscan *doctrinas* of Peru. This is seen from a letter written by the Franciscans of Cuzco in 1563, in which the method then in use was outlined; it is essentially the same as the one described at greater length by Oré. The letter says in part: ". . . teniendo ciertos frailes de la dicha Orden a su cargo la doctrina de una parroquia de naturales en la ciudad Cuzco . . . doctrinandolos a que sepan

ayudar a Misa y a vestir los sacerdotes, rezar oras, cantar el coro, oficiar una Misa y vísperas cantadas y tañer flautas y violones y que anden en servicio del culto divino y acompañando el servicio de la iglesia por que se oygan las oras con mejor devoción donde se juntan los naturales a ello por ser aficionados a musica . . . a los que tienen enseñados la lengua castellana para que puedan predicar a los demás y darles a entender las cosas de la fe y los intérpretes y alguaciles que tienen para embiar de unos pueblos a otros. . . ." "Memorial de Fray Hernando de Barrionuevo y Fray Juan de Vega a S. M. Cuzco, año de 1563," in Emilio Lissón Chaves, *La Iglesia de España en el Perú*, II, 551. The fact that the method described by Oré was then actually the one in use in the Franciscan Indian parishes is stated in so many words in the letter of approbation given by the provincial, Fray Bernardo de Gamarrá, printed in the introduction to the book, as well as in testimonies of other fathers who had worked with Oré. Gamarrá says in part: ". . . quod pro divinis laudibus uniuscuiusque septem dierum hebdomadae totidem continet cantica spiritualia mysteriorum fidei, quae in ecclesiis parochialibus fratribus ordinis nostri commissis, summa Indorum atque audientium omnium devotione et laetitia canuntur. . . . Frater Bernardus Gamarrá, Minister Provincialis. Datis in coenobio nostro Collahuensi, die 6 Octobris, anni 1594." The same testimony is given by Fray Francisco Chávez and Fray Buenaventura

pulsory attendance of all Indians at classes of instruction in the Christian faith. The difference in the methods of the various religious orders which were engaged in the instruction of the Indian is to be found in the means used by each to make the native realize the meaning and significance of the truths propounded to him. The Franciscans in Peru, for the most part, relied on the liturgy and the splendor of the ritual of the Catholic Church to achieve this end.

During the first decades, when Peru as a whole was not well organized, the religious instruction in the *doctrinas* was also poorly organized. During this early period, until about 1550, the Franciscans used children in much the same way as their brethren had used them earlier in Mexico. Selected children would learn the Christian doctrine by heart in the native idiom, often from a catechism composed by the individual friar or translated by him from a Spanish or Latin original.²¹ Some of these children would be sent to a pueblo to prepare the way for the friar; others remained with him and were used to sing hymns for the Indians. The exercises thus arranged were attended more or less voluntarily by the Indians.

As the natives were formed into reductions by the royal officials and the priests, the instruction was placed on a firmer basis. An attempt was made to achieve uniformity in the matter taught to the natives by suppressing the private catechisms in favor of those which grew out of the

de Fuentes, both of whom had served with Oré. See "Declaracion del Padre Fray Francisco de Chávez." BNL, registro 35, fol. 55b. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Buenaventura de Fuentes." BNL, registro 35, fol. 27b. Both of these friars maintain that Fray Jerónimo de Oré was on the commission which translated the catechism of the Council of Lima of 1583 and that he also co-operated in the translation of the book of sermons in Quechua prepared by that same Council for the instruction of the Indians.

The author of this work was a member of the remarkable Oré family of Huamanga. The parents were Don Antonio de Oré y Río and Doña Luisa Díaz de Rojas. There were fifteen children; four of the sons became Franciscans, Pedro, Antonio, Luis Jerónimo and Dionisio; and five of the daughters entered the Poor Clare convent erected by their father in their native city. The father of this family taught his children how to play the organ and various other musical instruments and also instructed them in the classical languages. After his death, his wife entered the Poor Clare convent which he had built.

Fray Luis Jerónimo de Oré attended the University of San Marcos at the same time as Fray Diego de Ojeda and Pedro de Oña. Thereafter for many years he served in various Indian parishes. In 1620 he was nominated by the king to the bishopric of Concepción in Chile, where he died in 1629. For more details concerning the life and publications of this friar, see José Toribio Medina, *La Imprenta en Lima*, I 49-53, and Manuel de Mendiburu, *Diccionario Histórico Biográfico del Perú*, VIII (Lima, 1934), 246 ff.

21. This was not a wholly laudable practice, but in the beginning, until the Church authorities could issue an official text in the various Indian languages, it was undoubtedly necessary. Later Toledo complained that the multiplicity of catechisms was one of the hindrances to the conversion of the Indians. He said: ". . . que anden muchos catechismos porque cualquier clérigo o religioso que se le antoja haze el suyo que es de mucho peligro. . ." See "Carta del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo, a S. M." Cuzco, March 25, 1571, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, III, 496.

great Councils of Lima of 1552, 1567 and 1583.²² In time all Indians over ten years of age were obliged to come to the patio of the church on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays at eight o'clock in the morning to recite the Christian doctrine²³ and to hear a short explanation given by the priest. Children ten years of age and younger had to come every morning at the same hour for a longer period of instruction which normally lasted until about ten o'clock. After embracing the Faith, adults had to come only on Sunday mornings. Those, however, who had passed the age when they had to pay tribute to the Crown were encouraged to come at least three times a week.

The Indians who were expected to be present at the church had little choice in the matter. Special officials, *alguaciles de la doctrina*, saw to it that each person was present on his prescribed day.²⁴ Each *alguacil* was assigned a section of the *pueblo* to supervise and was given a list of families who resided there. When the church bell rang, the *alguacil* would go through the streets of his district, warning the people to come to the church. This done, he repaired to the church patio, where he called the roll. At the beginning, the *doctrineros* apparently had to use whatever means they could to persuade the natives to come. Some undoubtedly used force;²⁵ others, a system of rewards. One *doctrinero* was accustomed to give a piece of beef to the Indian men who came for the instruction period on Sunday.²⁶ After the issuance of the laws of Viceroy Toledo, an unexcused absence was punishable by the civil power.

On Sunday, after the people had gathered in the patio, the men on one side and the women on the other, the parish choir, composed of the teachers and the pupils of the village school, standing under its own banner near the door of the church, would begin to sing the first part of the Christian doctrine. After each part, the people would repeat the

22. "Decretos que se publicaron en la segunda sesion del Concilio Provincial celebrado en la Iglesia Cathedral de la Ciudad de los Reyes, en 15 de Agosto de 1583," in Levillier, *Organización*, II, 168 f.

23. By Christian doctrine is meant here the matter which comprises the basic doctrines and practices of the Christian faith. It included the following prayers: the Sign of the Cross, the Our Father, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, the Hail Holy Queen; it also included the enumeration of these: the fourteen articles of faith, the ten commandments, the commandments of the Church, the seven sacraments, the corporal and spiritual works of mercy, the theological virtues, the cardinal virtues, the seven capital sins, the enemies of the soul, and the four last things. These points were the minimum which any Indian had

to know before he could receive any sacrament. Oré prints them in the various Indian languages of Peru.

24. The powers and duties of the *alguaciles* in Peru are described at some length in: "Provision del Virrey, D. Martín Enríquez, para la doctrina de los Indios. Los Reyes, 12 de Noviembre de 1581." ASFL, registro 13, parte 3.

25. Thus Conde de Nieva stated in a report to the king in 1561. No further details were given. See "Carta del Conde de Nieva a S. M." Los Reyes, April 26, 1561, in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, I, 377.

26. "Declaracion del Padre Fray Sebastián de Lezana." BNL, registro 35, fol. 10b. The friar who did this was Fray Alonso de Argüello, *doctrinero* at the time in Pocona. Before becoming a friar he had been a rich encomendero of Cuzco.

same words in song. In this way, the entire Christian doctrine would be sung by all the people. On Sundays and feast days, the people would thereupon march into the church to assist at divine services and listen to a more extended explanation of some point of doctrine. On weekdays, if adults were present, this explanation was very brief, for there was work to be done. Both the doctrine and the explanation were given in the language of the Indians.²⁷

There were also a number of songs composed by the Franciscans with words in the two most common languages of the country, Quechua and Aymará. These covered the full range of Catholic dogma as well as Bible history from the creation of the world to the death of Christ and the foundation of the Church; these were sung at frequent and fixed intervals.²⁸ Some of the songs were translations of the great classical Christian hymns; others were apparently original compositions. This method of instruction was probably introduced into Peru by the Franciscans from Mexico in the late 1540's,²⁹ as possibly also were the words of a number of the hymns, which were later translated into Quechua and Aymará and the other tongues of the country.³⁰

These hymns were integrated into pueblo life in the following way. Each morning, shortly after sunrise, the church bell would call the Indians to worship. Attendance at this service was completely voluntary, but the service was quite popular. At the appointed hour, the trained chanters, who conducted this service, would gather in the church and begin their prayers much after the ritual of the canons in the large cathedrals. In alternate choirs, they would recite or at times chant, according to the scales of Gregorian music, the hours in honor of the Blessed Virgin. At the end of these prayers each day, they would sing a song or poem, sometimes in the fourth mode, sometimes in the fifth and sometimes in the tone used during Lent. Each day had its own poem with its own theme. On Sunday the theme was the Blessed Trinity; on Monday, the creation of the world, of the angels and of all things; on Tuesday, the creation of man, of his life in paradise, his fall, the promise of the Redeemer, the annunciation and the Incarnation; on Wednesday, the birth of Jesus, the visit of the Magi, the presentation in the temple, the flight into Egypt and the finding of the

27. Oré, *Símbolo Católico*, fol. 55.

28. Oré's *Símbolo Católico* furnishes these hymns in both Quechua and Aymará, together with a Spanish translation.

29. Oré, *Símbolo Católico*, fol. 53.

30. The Anonymous Jesuit (*Espada, Tres Relaciones*, p. 223) claims that the Jesuits introduced the custom of teaching Christian doctrine to the Indians by means

of songs, so that the natives would thus forget their pagan hymns. It is not known who introduced the singing of Christian hymns, but it was certainly not the Jesuits. The Franciscans were employing songs in Mexico before the Jesuits were founded and in Peru at least several years before the Jesuits came to that country. See Francisco Díaz, *Relatio Missionum*, p. 511.

Child in the temple; on Thursday, the story of Noe, the propagation of the human race, the baptism of Christ, the temptation in the desert, Christ's first miracle, the transfiguration, the evangelical counsels, the triumphant entry into Jerusalem, the last supper and the institution of the Eucharist; on Friday, the sufferings of Christ beginning with a summary of the prophecies of the Old Testament and continuing with a synopsis of the Gospel narrative; on Saturday, the resurrection, the ascension, the descent of the Holy Ghost, the foundation of the Church with the Pope as its head on earth, and death, judgment, heaven or hell. These were the songs which were sung in the churches of the Franciscan *doctrinas* throughout Peru and Bolivia. There are some reports that the Indians liked them so well that they also sang them while at work in the fields.³¹

The shortest of the poems was on the Blessed Trinity; it was sung on Sundays. It may be translated as follows:³²

It is the Catholic faith that we should venerate one God in Trinity and a Trinity in Unity.

We must not confuse the persons nor separate the substance.

Distinct is the person of the Father, distinct the person of the Son and distinct the person of the Holy Spirit.

Yet the divinity of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit is one, with equal glory and majesty.

In this the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit are equal.

The Father is uncreated, the Son is uncreated and the Holy Spirit is uncreated.

The Father is incomprehensible, the Son is incomprehensible and the Holy Spirit is incomprehensible.

The Father is eternal, the Son is eternal and the Holy Spirit is eternal.

Yet there are not three eternals, but only One Eternal.

Also there are not three uncreated, nor three incomprehensibles, but only one Uncreated and one Incomprehensible.

Likewise, the Father is almighty, the Son is almighty, the Holy Spirit is almighty.

Yet there are not three almighty, but only One Almighty.

31. Declaracion del Padre Fray Buenaventura de Fuentes. BNL, registro 35, fol. 28b. This friar who worked with Oré says "... traduxo toda la vida de Cristo nuestro Redemptor en verso hasta la Ascension, todo en la lengua y le dio un tono tan devoto que Indios y Indias y muchachos los cantan en las casas y chacaras. . . ." Perhaps the fact that these hymns were set to Gregorian chant may have speeded their adoption by the Indians. There seems to be an affinity between the modes of

Gregorian chant and the traditional melodies of the Peruvian Indian as played on their reed *kena*; at least so it seemed to this observer.

32. Oré, *Símbolo Católico*, fols. 67-72. The writer regrets that in accordance with the genius of the English language he has to use abstract terms derived from the Latin, which are largely absent in the Quechua and Aymará. The absence of such words gives those versions a more concrete flavor.

The Father is God, the Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God.
Yet there are not three gods, but only One God.

Likewise, the Father is Lord, the Son is Lord and the Holy Spirit is Lord.
Yet there are not three lords but only One Lord.

The Father is made of none, neither created nor begotten.

The Son is of the Father alone, not made nor created but begotten.

The Holy Spirit is of the Father and the Son, neither made, nor created, nor begotten but proceeding.

Hence there is one Father, not three fathers; one Son, not three sons; one Holy Spirit and not three holy spirits.

And in this Trinity, none is before or after the other, none is greater or less than another, but the whole three persons are co-eternal and co-equal.

So that in all things there is unity in trinity and trinity in unity.

He, therefore, who will be saved must think thus of the Trinity.

Thus did the Indians sing, but in their own languages, the classical hymn of Christian antiquity composed by St. Athanasius of Alexandria. The poems sung on other days were similar in form but usually much longer.

In the afternoon the same group of chanters returned to the church for evensong, also in the native languages. Attendance again was voluntary for the people, but obligatory for the school children and the *doctrinero*. This service consisted in the main in the singing of a few psalms, a short poem similar to the one of the morning in content and form, a general confession of sins and a request for God's pardon and continued blessing. Another service was conducted on Monday evenings, when the entire pueblo at the sound of the church bell would gather at twilight in the patio of the church. In a procession led by an Indian carrying the cross and followed by the parish choir, the school boys carrying lighted torches, and the *doctrinero* garbed in the sacred vestments, the village would honor its dead in song and prayer. At the central plaza the procession would halt before each of four shrines to chant a short prayer for those buried in the village cemetery and for the intentions of the benefactors of the pueblo. At twilight on Saturday, there was a similar procession, but in honor of the Blessed Mother. Other services in the church were as lavish as circumstances would permit, and musical instruments of all kinds were used liberally.

It is difficult to judge the effect of these religious solemnities on the Indian, for there are no known testimonies which give us the reaction of the native. They did, however, impress the Spaniards favorably. Thus St. Toribio Mogrovejo, the Archbishop of Lima, was so pleased with the

singing of the Indians of Cajamarca in 1593 that he wanted to take some of the vocalists for his cathedral.³³ The splendor of the divine services in Cajamarca also impressed the cosmopolite Fray Vásquez de Espinosa. After his visit to Cajamarca in the early 1600's, he wrote:³⁴

In this town there are many artisans . . . singers and a choir master, who instructs them; they repair every day like canons to the church to recite their prayers, the lesser Office of Our Lady; they assist at the Mass; they have flageolets and many other musical instruments for the celebration of the divine service. . . ; usually those who officiate thus are always the sons of the leading men and caciques; they greatly appreciate this and consider it a very high honor.

It is not surprising to see that sons of the caciques and other principal men were selected for these positions of prestige. From the beginning of the conquest of Peru, the Spaniards had realized the importance of gaining the support of influential people among the Indians. Both the friars and the conquistadors knew that this was the easiest way to win the mass of the population.³⁵ In each *doctrina*, therefore, the Franciscans maintained a school exclusively for the sons of the caciques and other principal and wealthy men. At first these schools were conducted by the friars, but by Toledo's time, they were in the hands of native masters.³⁶ In the school, the boys were taught to read and write Spanish, and to sing and play musical instruments, especially the flute, the flageolet and the trumpet. The school was the hope of the Franciscan missionary. As one of the foremost Franciscan *doctrineros* of the sixteenth century wrote:³⁷

33. Polo, "Relación de los Principios," *Revista Histórica*, I, 475.

34. Antonio Vásquez de Espinosa, *Compendium and Description of the West Indies*, trans. by Charles Upson Clark (Washington, 1942), p. 401.

35. The friars were also interested in winning the loyalties of the caciques and other *señores principales* because their conversion would have a strong influence on their peoples. Fray Diego de Vera in 1563 gives a brief insight into the methods of the Franciscans in the province of Cajamarca to win and influence these Indian masters. He maintains that the ancient hereditary rulers were devoted protectors of their people—he calls these "los señores naturales"—while the new rulers imposed by the Spaniards had no interest in the welfare of their Indians. (These he calls "tiranos.") See Francisco de Zabalburu and José Sancho Rayón (eds.), *Nueva Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España y de sus Indias*, VI (Madrid, 1896), 131-134. Fray Diego de Vera was the son of Capitan Diego de Vera, prominent in the earlier decades of the

conquest of Peru. It is not known if his son entered the Franciscan Order there or in Spain, but it would seem that this event took place in Peru. He is credited with having baptized almost 30,000 Indians. See Levillier, *Audiencia de Lima*, I, 277 f.

36. "Ordenanzas del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo. De la Enseñanza y Doctrina. Arequipa, 10 de Septiembre de 1575," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, VIII, 359 f. Toledo also fixed the salary for these teachers: ". . . en cada un año dos vestidos de abasca y seis fanegas de maiz o chuño . . . doce carneros de Castilla. . . ."

37. Oré, *Símbolo Cathólico*, fol. 56: "Para todas estas cosas es muy necesario que aya escuela y maestro della, y cantores diputados, y pagados con salario suficiente, donde sean enseñados los muchachos a rezar la doctrina, y a leer y escribir, cantar y tañer. La escuela es como anima del todo un pueblo, para ser mejor doctrinado y regido, y donde no la uviere faltara todo lo dicho, de doctrina, musica, ornato y servicio de las iglesias, altar, y choro. . . ."

For all these reasons, it is necessary that there should be a good school with its masters and selected chanters,³⁸ with a sufficient salary, where the boys may be taught to pray the doctrine, and to read and to write, to sing and to play musical instruments. The school is the soul of the village, in order that they [the people] may be better instructed and guided, and where there is no school, all of the above-mentioned, doctrine, music, the decoration and service of the churches, altar and choir will be lacking....

From these words of Fray Jerónimo de Oré it is clear that the education imparted in these schools was not exclusively religious, nor was it as deficient as it may appear to some. In the archive of the Franciscan convent of Lima there are preserved a representative number of documents from various Indian caciques especially of the sixteenth century.³⁹ Almost all of these are signed, generally in a stiff but clearly legible hand, a fact which shows that in this regard at least they were superior to the illiterate Pizarro and Almagro. After Francisco de Toledo was in Peru about four months, he wrote a hasty letter to the king, in which he had little good to say for the country and especially for the Indian schools.⁴⁰

38. Although the chanters were employed before Toledo's time, he was the first viceroy apparently to give them an official standing when he exempted them from personal services. This exemption caused much difficulty especially in those provinces which had to supply Indians for the mines at Huancavelica, since some of the *corregidores* did not think that the chanters merited such exemption. Philip II in 1593, upon the petition of Fray Matheo de Recalde, incorporated Toledo's provision into a *real cédula* and ordered that this exemption should be respected. See "Real Cedula del Señor Phelipe II, a favor de los Indios cantores. El Pardo, 17 de Noviembre de 1593." ASFL, registro 9, parte 2, número 10. The law, however, needed frequent repetition to insure its observance. Thus the Conde de Castellar had to proclaim it again on July 13, 1675, as did also Viceroy Amat on January 9, 1774. In the latter year, the *doctrina* of Chiclayo had eight *cantores*: D. Francisco Chiclayo, D. Joseph Chiclayo, D. Francisco Chafo, D. Diego Yamos, D. Miguel Yarro, D. Nicolás Icupur, D. Valentín Santiago and D. Jacinto Ulfo. The title of don is prefixed to each name in the official *provisión* of the viceroy. See "Provision para los cantores de Chiclayo, 9 de Enero de 1775." ASFL, registro 9, parte 2, número 10-2.

39. Documents of this kind are rather numerous in the archives of San Francisco de Lima. One of the longest is a

document which comprises a series of agreements between the caciques of Chiclayo and the friars of that *doctrina* concerning the erection of the convent there, the reconstruction of the church, the kitchen, gifts to the hospital, etc. The scribe was Hernando de Chuhuy, and the documents are signed by the caciques. See ASFL, registro 9, parte 2, número 5.

40. "Carta del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo, a S. M. Los Reyes, 8 de Febrero de 1570," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, III, 383: "... las escuelas de doctrina y leer y escribir que en todos los lugares de yndios manda vuestra magestad que se tengan, yo no les he hallado mas que lo que de su gracia quieren hacer los sacerdotes que no es nada. . ." Toledo had arrived in Lima only on November 26, 1569. Many viceroys, including Toledo at this time, were in almost complete ignorance of the true condition of their jurisdiction, for most of them came to Lima and remained there to enjoy its relative comforts, breaking the monotony of their life with a short trip in season to some of the resort areas close to the capital. Their knowledge of the remainder of the country was gained from the reports of others, most of the time apparently from interested parties. Toledo in 1570 began a personal visit to the greater part of his jurisdiction, and it was during this trip that he changed his mind on many subjects, among them the status of education among the Indians.

Toledo never formally retracted these earlier slurs against these schools, but later, after he had begun to visit the Indian country, he requested the Crown to prohibit the importation of profane novels, for, as he admitted, "many [Indians] are already learning how to read."⁴¹ Toledo feared such reading would have a bad influence on the natives.

Besides the school, a hospital, to care for the sick Indians and to serve as a guest house for visitors, was also generally found in the Franciscan *doctrinas* of the sixteenth century. Medical science was then, indeed, quite backward, and some of the hospitals were merely poor hovels where the natives entered only to die. Yet, the isolation of patients with fever and smallpox was understood and practiced.⁴² There was even a crude form of hospital insurance; each tribute-paying Indian contributed one silver *tomín* a year for the upkeep of the hospital. In some of the Franciscan *doctrinas* the hospitals also enjoyed the proceeds of endowments, very variable in kind and quantity. Thus the hospital of San Nicolás in the *doctrina* of Lurín-Ica, which cared for 200 sick persons a year, had the considerable annual income of 1,200 pesos from its endowments.⁴³ The eight hospitals in the *doctrinas* of the valley of Jauja were endowed with a herd of 12,000 sheep, from which each hospital annually received 600 head, to be used as food in the hospitals or to be sold.⁴⁴ In the valley of Cajamarca, there were hospitals in the pueblos of Asunción, Contumaza and Cascas. The first had 500 sheep, the second 30, and the last 75.⁴⁵ There are no references to hospitals in the other pueblos of that valley, possibly because of the abundance of medicinal hot springs whose virtues were appreciated by the Indians. Atahualpa, it will be remembered, was in the midst of a cure at the time he first met Pizarro. In the south the province of Collaguas was and still is rich in mineral springs, and here also each *doctrina* had its hospital.⁴⁶ It is, however, curious that only the Collaguas pueblos, according to existing documents, were served by resident Spanish surgeons, one to each four villages.⁴⁷ In

41. "Carta del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo, a S. M. La Plata, 30 de Noviembre de 1573," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, V, 284: "Tambien tengo escrito a vuestra magestad como no conviene que a estos reinos se traigan libros profanos y de mal exemplo porque lo recibirán los Indios que muchos van ya sabiendo leer...."

42. Fernando Montesinos, *Anales del Perú*, I, 247.

43. "Relacion de las Ciudades, Villas y Lugares. . . Lima, 20 de Abril de 1619." AGI, *Lima*, 301.

44. *Ibid.*

45. *Monografía de la Diócesis de Trujillo*, I (Trujillo, 1930), 214.

46. Espada, *Relaciones Geográficas*, II,

49. Mention has already been made of the hospitals in Magdalena and Surco. See chapter 4, note 11, *supra*.

47. "En el pueblo de Yanqui Collaguas en treinta días del mes de Agosto de mill y quinientos y noventa y siete años, D. Diego de Peralta Cabeza de Vaca, Corregidor e justicia mayor en esta provincia de los Collaguas . . . por el Rey, nuestro Señor, dixo, que por quanto por decreto del señor Don Francisco de Toledo, virrey que fue de estos reynos su fecha, en los Reyes a diez y nueve de Enero de mil y quinientos y setenta y siete, ganado a pidimiento de los caciques principales de este repartimiento

the other *doctrinas* the hospitals apparently had to be content with the native *barberos*, whom Toledo ordered trained by the Spanish physicians.⁴⁸

In some of the Franciscan *doctrinas*, the friars fostered the establishment of mills (*obrages*) conducted by the Indians. Fray Antonio de Zúñiga, who had come to Lima in the entourage of the first Marqués de Cañete and entered the Franciscan Order in that city in 1556, wrote to the king in 1579 as though the practice of founding *obrages* was quite a common policy on the part of the Franciscans. We know, however, of only three in the Franciscan *doctrinas*, one in the *doctrina* served by Zúñiga, another at Asunción in Cajamarca, and the third at Chiclayo.

In general the friars seemed to foster the *obrages* for the benefit of the Indians themselves. One advantage was that if they were successful, the Indians of the village would be able to gain enough money to pay their annual tribute to the Crown and to the encomendero without being forced to work away from home and the *doctrina*. Thus the missionaries could maintain stricter control over their charges, and at the same time the many abuses which could arise from protracted absences of the father of the family would be avoided.

How successful these mills were is not fully known. Zúñiga intimates

de Yanqui de su Magestad por el cual se manda que dos barberos . . . para la cura de los dichos Indios.

"Porque al presente hay muchas enfermedades y Martin Ortiz, cirujano nombrado no puede acudir con la puntualidad que se requiere a todos los dichos pueblos inclusos en este dicho repartimiento de Yanqui de su Magestad por estar muy lejos los unos de los otros en conformidad del dicho decreto nombrava y Nombro a Fernan Perez Moreno, cirujano examinado, para que acuda a curar y cure los Indios de este pueblo de Yanqui, Chivay, Coporaque y Achoma y el dicho Martin Ortiz ha de acudir a curar los Indios de los cuatro pueblos de la puna, que son, Calallí, Tute, Tisco y Cibayo, que por todos son ocho queblos inclusos en este dicho repartimiento de Yanqui.

"Por la cura y ocupacion y travajo que los susodichos han de tener en la cura de los dichos enfermos, les señalo a cada uno trescientos pesos ensayados de a doce reales y medio el peso, los quales se les han de dar y pagar por sus tercios en seis y seis meses de lo aplicado y pertenesciente para la paga de los tales cirujanos y porque con la rebaja que avido en la tasa, faltan algunos pesos a cumplimiento a los seiscien-

tos pesos que señalan a los dichos dos cirujanos, mando que de lo aplicado al tomín del hospital se les entere la dicha cantidad de manera que cada cirujano . . . haya de aver trescientos pesos ensayados de a doce reales y medio el peso pagados, como dicho es. Así lo proveyo y mando se le de un traslado de este proveimiento para la cobranza del dicho su salario y lo firmo. Don Diego de Peralta Cabeza de Vaca. Ante mi, Fernando Ramirez, escribano publico."

The new doctor was not satisfied with the salary and petitioned, on September 15, that it should be increased to 400 pesos per annum as was customary with his predecessors in office in that repartimiento. However, Diego de Peralta Cabeza de Vaca refused this request. "Provision del nombramiento de los cirujanos otorgada por el Corregidor de Yanqui-Collaguas, D. Diego de Peralta Cabeza de Vaca. Yanqui, 30 de Agosto de 1597." ASFL, registro 15, parte 5.

48. "Ordenanzas del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo. De la Jurisdiccion que han de tener los Alcaldes. Arequipa, 6 de Noviembre de 1575," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, VIII, 327.

that his *obraje* netted 6,000 pesos each year. It made cloth of various grades and colors for the home market. In 1593 the mill at Asunción had four looms and twenty-four spinning wheels.⁴⁹ Nothing is known of the one at Chiclayo except that it was to be run by the Indians and the profits used to erect a new church;⁵⁰ the church was in fact built after some delay. These *obrajes* may also have been designed to improve the technical knowledge of the Indians. Thus Zúñiga speaks of wishing to hire a Spanish master weaver as superintendent of the mill in his *doctrina* at an annual salary of about 300 to 400 pesos. The presence of spinning wheels in the mill at Asunción, if the *torneras* referred to really were the European spinning wheel, would be another evidence of the same design. If Zúñiga's experience was typical, there is, however, much reason to doubt the technical advance made by the Indian. Instead of receiving a Spanish master weaver, the audiencia forced the Indians to accept a political hack who knew nothing about weaving, yet received an annual salary far greater than the master weaver would have received—1,000 pesos.⁵¹ In this instance, the audiencia failed in its duty of protecting the interests of the Indian.

There still remains the question concerning the policy of the Franciscans in regard to the administration of the sacraments to the Indians. This question concerns not merely Church discipline; it involves also subtle social aspects. For the sacraments are not merely avenues of grace which unite the soul of the Indian more closely with God, but they may be also the signs of social acceptance of the Indian by the Spanish *doctrinero*, as well as the proof of the depth and sincerity of the native's conversion. It is well known that in Mexico, the Franciscans, while favoring the policy of giving the Eucharist to all worthy Indians, reserved the Viaticum and the last anointing for the caciques.⁵²

In Peru there is little or no documentary evidence concerning the policy followed in the administration of the sacraments during the first decades. After about 1570 the information is remarkably complete, thanks largely to two published works of Fray Jerónimo de Oré. The

49. *Monografía de la Diócesis de Trujillo*, I, 214.

50. "Provision del Virrey, D. García de Mendoza, Marques de Cañete, para el obraje de los Indios en Chiclayo. Los Reyes, 22 de Junio de 1594." ASFL, registro 9, parte 2, número 2. According to this document, the earlier church in Chiclayo had collapsed sometime before 1572, and the new one was not yet finished by the date of the issuance of the above permission. The viceroy gave the caciques permission to use the alms which had been

collected for the construction of the church to purchase cotton which was to be woven into 650 "capuzes o piezas de ropa." According to the petition of the caciques, they hoped to realize a profit of about 6,000 pesos on this amount of cloth. The acknowledgment was signed by the *corregidor*, Francisco de Olmos Pizarro.

51. "Carta de Fray Antonio de Zúñiga al Rey." Peru, July 15, 1579. CDIHE, XXVI, 107.

52. Robert Ricard, *La Conquête Spirituelle du Mexique* (Paris, 1933), pp. 148-153.

first, *Símbolo Cathólico Indiano*, was intended primarily to be used by the converted Indians; the second, *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*,⁵³ was to serve as a guide to the priests who were working among the natives. From these volumes it is clear that in the Franciscan *doctrinas* the sacraments were administered to the Indians much as they were to the Spaniards at that time, except for Holy Orders which the native could not receive. As regards the other sacraments, any Indian could receive them, provided he had the necessary instruction and was not living in public sin.

Baptism was administered to adult Indians only upon their request and after they had been instructed in the basic doctrines of Christianity and had given satisfactory proofs to the *doctrinero* of their comprehension of these doctrines. The Council of Lima in 1552 prescribed that the period of instruction was to last thirty days, but there is no indication that the Franciscans followed this literally; the satisfactory instruction of the adult probably required a longer time. The compulsory attendance of even baptized Indians at the doctrinal explanations on Sundays and feast days was intended to remedy any deficiencies in the original instruction. Children were baptized, if possible, the day of their birth. To insure this, the *alguaciles de la doctrina* had the duty to report immediately to the priest the births which took place in their districts. Baptism was administered with the ceremonies usual to this sacrament, and the record of the name of the child or adult, together with the names of the sponsors, was entered in a book reserved for this purpose.⁵⁴

The sacraments of Penance and Eucharist were administered to the natives under more rigid conditions, but these conditions were no stricter for the Indians than they were for the Spaniards. The native received Holy Communion for the first time when he was about twelve to fourteen years old. Very likely his first confession was heard at the same time. Both sacraments were preceded by a period of special instructions, admirable for their simplicity and completeness. Among other things, the

53. Luis Jerónimo de Oré, *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum et Forma Brevis Administrandi apud Indos sacrosancta Baptismi, Poenitentiae, Eucharistiae, Matrimonii et Extremae Unctionis Sacra-menta* (Neapol, 1607). This volume contains not only the prayers which are to be said during the administration of each sacrament, but also a lengthy instruction in various Indian languages which was to be given to the Indians before they received the sacrament. For some sacraments, such as the Eucharist, there is a special catechism. For the sacrament of Penance, there is a lengthy and very specific list of questions

which were to serve as an aid in the examination of conscience. Finally, there is included also the complete *Doctrina Christiana*. Most of the material in this volume is given in Latin, Spanish, Quechua, Aymará, Puquina, Guarani and the *Doctrina Christiana* also "en la lengua Brasílica." The *Doctrina Christiana* in Guarani is a certified copy of the one made by Fray Luis Bolaños, the Franciscan founder of the Paraguayan reductions, whose catechism was afterwards frequently reprinted without credit.

54. Oré, *Rituale*, p. 38.

Indians were encouraged to bathe and to wear new or at least clean clothes when they received the Eucharist.⁵⁵ Each Indian had to receive the sacraments of Penance and Communion at least once a year, during the Easter season, which in the *doctrinas* began with the first day of Lent and ended with the feast of the Ascension. Before confession, each adult had to pass a short examination of Christian doctrine. For this purpose the *doctrina* was divided into districts, and the priest, sometimes aided by friars from the larger residences in the Spanish cities, would examine the adults. After the Indian had passed his examination and made his confession, his name was checked on the *padrón* (census list) of the pueblo. Those who had received absolution would receive the Eucharist either on Holy Thursday or on Easter Sunday. The Indians who were habitual drunkards, known thieves who refused to restore the stolen property, or adorers of the *guacas* could not receive the Eucharist.⁵⁶ Many Indians also received the sacrament of Penance during Advent and the Eucharist on Christmas morning. On other occasions, the natives were permitted to receive these sacraments, if the *doctrinero* thought that they were ready. As Oré says:⁵⁷

The Indians who might request Communion . . . shall be permitted to receive it, according to the judgment of their confessor, on Holy Thursday, or Easter, and to satisfy their devotion, also on Christmas, Pentecost, the Assumption and the feast of All Saints. And if they request Communion more frequently, it may be given to those of approved life and morals.

Before the sacrament of Matrimony was administered, a careful examination was made to establish that neither party had been previously married. The banns for an Indian marriage could be announced not on three successive Sundays, as was customary with the Spaniards, but on

55. *Ibid.*, pp. 42 f., 91-112; the instruction given to the Indians before the reception of the sacrament of Penance is found in the same volume, 129-200. The catechism of the Eucharist is also found in Oré, *Símbolo*, 169-174.

56. Oré, *Rituale*, p. 102.

57. *Ibid.*, p. 112: "Estando los Indios, y Indias que pidieron la Communion, ya bien enseñados con esta instruccion, seran admitidos a ella por juicio de su confessor, el Jueves Sancto, o el dia de Pasqua de Resurrección, y por su devocion se les podra dar el dia del Nacimiento, Pentecostes, Assumption de nuestra Señora, y dia de todos Santos. Y si mas veces la pidieron, se les podra dar a los que son de aprobada vida y costumbres. . . ." The author is not unaware that the reception of the Eucharist by the Indians was a matter

of some dispute among the Spanish clergymen of colonial Peru. Oré gives the policy of the Franciscans in this regard towards the end of the sixteenth century. The Anonymous Jesuit (Espada, *Tres Relaciones*, p. 222) gives the impression that the members of the Company were the only religious who favored giving the Eucharist to the natives: "The friars wished to continue their policy not to confess the Indians except in rare cases and much less to give them the Holy Sacrament; and, so that the Indians might not one day request It, if they should find out that they could receive It, possessing a good disposition and preparation, they agreed never to instruct them concerning this matter. But the Company, guided by the true spirit of the Catholic Church, went ahead with its work. . . ."

three successive days of *doctrina*, i.e., on Sunday, Wednesday and Friday of the same week.⁵⁸ The last anointing together with Viaticum was administered with all possible solemnity. The priest was conducted in a solemn procession, formed by the inhabitants of the village, from the church to the home of the sick person along streets which had been especially swept and cleaned. Members of the local Brotherhood of the Blessed Sacrament, with lighted tapers if possible, formed a guard of honor for the priest. All the church bells tolled to remind the people to pray for the person who was sick. If the sick person later died, the body was taken to the church and placed on a bier. Because of the ancient pagan custom of wrapping the dead in mantles, it was specified that the body was not to be wrapped in mantles, and it was not to be laid on the floor. Burial was in the church cemetery.⁵⁹

Within their possibilities, the Franciscans were also interested in the Indians who lived in areas where it was impossible to organize *doctrinas*. At regular intervals friars from the larger convents in the Spanish cities would visit abandoned rural areas to instruct the Indians in the Faith and to minister to their spiritual needs. These circuit missions of the sixteenth century were distinct in spirit and method from those of the following century which were intended to uncover the secret pagan adherents among the Indians through inquisitorial methods. No Franciscan, as far as is now known, took part in these seventeenth-century missions.

It is not known when the Franciscans began their circuit missions during the sixteenth century, though they may have grown out of the friars' activity during the first years of the conquest, when the Franciscans wandered from place to place in search of the natives. Some indication of the time when the circuit mission was begun or resumed may be gathered from a letter to the king written in 1587 by Francisco de Quiñones, first cousin of the Archbishop of Lima, St. Toribio. Quiñones pointed out that in some parts of Peru the Indian population was so sparse that it was unable to support resident *doctrineros*. As a remedy he suggested that from each of the residences of the religious in Lima, Trujillo and Huánuco, two priests should be deputed to go out each year to minister to these Indians. Such priests would receive no salary beyond the food they might need to sustain them while on the mission, since these Indians were abjectly poor.⁶⁰ The Franciscans did send out such missionaries, though it is not known if this resulted from Quiñones' letter. In 1600 the Franciscan superiors in Lima, Juan de Montemayor, the

58. Oré, *Símbolo*, fol. 54.

59. The rites for Viaticum and the last anointing are found in Oré, *Rituale*, pp. 113-128, 299-302. The note concerning the burial is found in Oré, *Símbolo*, fol. 59b.

60. "Carta de D. Francisco de Quiñones a S. M. Los Reyes, 4 de Abril de 1587," in Lissón Chaves, *La Iglesia de España en el Perú*, III, 460-463.

commissary general, and Diego de Pineda, the provincial, requested the king to remove the burden of the Indian parishes from their shoulders, and added:⁶¹

... this does not mean that this province will cease to send preachers and confessors to minister to those Indians, who, because they live in distant, sparsely settled and inaccessible regions, lack both priests and religious instruction. We have sent out such priests in the past and we shall continue to do so in the future. . . .

These Franciscan missionaries, sixteenth-century circuit riders, were well received everywhere, if we can believe the testimony of Guamán Poma de Ayala, a grandson of Inca Huayna Capac Yupanqui, who wrote:⁶²

The Reverend Fathers of the Order of St. Francis are all holy and very Christian, of great obedience, humility and kindness and of great charity for the poor of Jesus Christ. They are loved and cherished in the entire world and honored in heaven. With their love and kindness, they attract all, rich and poor alike, but especially the poor Indians. Never has there been heard any complaint or dissatisfaction against these blessed friars. To confess to them is pleasure, for the sinner repents with such love and kindness that it seems to me that if these men of God would go through the pueblos of the Indians to hear confessions, all of the poor Indians would rejoice and would seek out and would not flee from them. For when it is announced that a Franciscan has come, all come to kiss his hand.

In his chronicle Guamán Poma also inserted some drawings for the edification of those among his readers who were unable to understand the printed word. In one series he portrays the various religious orders by representing a member of that Order in a typical action. The Franciscan in this series is represented aiding the Indian physically and spiritually. With his left hand, the friar is giving an Indian a piece of bread and saying to him, "Little one, eat this bread"; with the right hand, the friar is extending a crucifix saying, "May it be done for the love of God."⁶³

61. "Carta de los Padres Superiores y Definitorio de San Francisco a S. M. Lima, 30 de Abril de 1600." AGI, *Lima*, 321: "... no por esto esta Provincia dexera de enviar predicadores y confessores para que doctrinen los Indios a las partes donde por ser lejos o por ser poco pobladas como hasta aqui lo ha hecho ansi, lo hara en adelante. . . ."

62. Guamán Poma de Ayala, *El Primer Nueva Corónica*, p. 640: "De la Orden del Señor San Francisco, los dichos reverendos Padres todos ellos son sanctos y cristianísimos de gran obediencia y humildad y caridad, amor del prójimo y limosnero que quiere y ama muy mucho a los pobres de Jesu Cristo. En todo el mundo son amados y queridos y honrados en el cielo. Con su amor y caridad traen a todos los ricos como pobres en el mundo

mucho mas a los Indios pobres. Jamas se ha oido pleito ni quejas de los bienaventurados frailes. Confesarse con ellos es gloria porque el penitente se arrepiente de aquel amor y caridad que me parece [si] estos sanctos de Dios andubiesen en los pueblos de los Indios confesando todos los pobres Indios sin temor, se allegarian y le buscarian y no se huyrian. Porque en deciendo que tiene fraile Francisco luego todos acuden a besar las manos. . . ." (Added punctuation is ours.) Confession was a sore point with the Indians of Peru. They found it very difficult. Some viceroys explain their distaste by intimating that some of the *doctrineros* would punish the Indians for the crimes which they had confessed, especially idolatry.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 639: "Huerfano, come este pan: sea por amor de Dios."

Guamán Poma's attitude toward the Franciscans was not unique. The same attitude was generally characteristic of the Indians in the *doctrinas* governed by the Franciscans. There were exceptions, of course, and the caciques were not slow to complain to the proper authorities when they thought that certain Franciscans were not conducting themselves properly;⁶⁴ yet the fact that the Indians were free to complain, and as a matter of fact did complain, against individual friars makes their praise of the fathers all the more credible. The verdict of the Indians was generally favorable. Thus after the Franciscans had withdrawn from the *doctrinas* of Cajamarca, the Indians sent their representatives to Paita to beg Don Francisco de Toledo to send the friars back. After the Franciscans had voluntarily relinquished the Indian parishes of the province of Collaguas in 1584, the Indians there petitioned the viceroy and the king for the return of the friars. Very similar was the reaction of the Indians of the province of Pacajes in modern Bolivia, who had also been instructed in the Faith by the Franciscans of the Lima province. When the friars withdrew from the *doctrinas*, the caciques of that province in 1598 petitioned Don Luis de Velasco, the viceroy, to send them back. The eleven principal caciques who signed the petition said they preferred the Franciscan *doctrinero* for the following reasons:

1. The Franciscans built the churches and kept them in good repair, so that the Indians had a fit place in which to worship.⁶⁵

64. Thus in 1571 the caciques of Jauja complained that the Franciscans made the Indians carry their luggage when the friars were transferred from one *doctrina* to another. The offense was aggravated by the fact that these Indians were not paid. See "Carta del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo, a S. M. Cuzco, 25 de Marzo de 1571," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, III, 496. In 1572 there was the complaint that one of the Franciscans in the *doctrinas* of the Collaguas had maltreated a cacique. See "Carta del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo, a S. M. Cuzco, 24 de Septiembre de 1572," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IV, 414. In 1573 Toledo again reports that some Franciscans in Trujillo had acted "con desverguenza," but the offense is not further specified. See "Carta del Virrey, D. Francisco de Toledo, a S. M. Potosí, 20 de Marzo de 1573," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, V, 21.

65. "Memoria y relacion de los caciques principales de la provincia de los Pacajes. Provincia de los Pacajes, Enero de 1598." ASFL, registro 15, parte 5. The document reads as follows: "Primeramente, somos vejados y molestados de los vicarios y

demas clérigos que han sido y sucedido en estas doctrinas de los pueblos de la provincia de los Pacajes, que de los susodichos jamas hemos tenido doctrina que sea con concierto, sino que todos en general procuran quitarnos nuestros carneros y demás haciendas para sus grangerías.

Item. Queremos y es nuestra voluntad que para que seamos doctrinados y estemos como Cristianos, tenemos necesidad que su Excelencia nos mande proveer de frailes Franciscos como de antes en esta provincia solian doctrinarnos y aver sido los dichos frailes fundadores y darnos buen ejemplo y aver fundado iglesias. Despues que los susodichos se han salido de las dichas doctrinas nunca hemos tenido iglesias con concierto sino todas caidas por causa de los clérigos que no procuran mas de sus grangerías y no tener a oír los oficios divinos sino que la demás gente se estan fuera por no aver iglesia.

Item. Con aver cedula de su Santidad para que no grangeen, no obstante esto, tornan a sus grangerías no temiendo la excomunión que les esta puesto y cuando no, sus parientes por ellos. Nos apremiandonos a



Upper Gallery, First Cloister, Convento de San Francisco, Cuzco
(mid-sixteenth century)

2. The friars came alone to the *doctrinas* and did not bring relatives to live off the Indians and to be served by them. Nor did they trade with the Indians, but they occupied themselves only in instructing them and aiding the poor and the needy.

3. The Franciscans did not demand stipends from the Indians for their services at weddings and funerals, but they received what the Indians gave voluntarily. The greater part of their salary was used to procure vestments and other church furnishings.

4. The friars were wont to share the goods in kind which the Indians gave them with the orphans, the aged and the sick of the villages.

5. The Franciscans were pious and zealous men who taught them to love the holy Faith.

Such were the memories which these caciques preserved of the Franciscans who had labored among them. That such sentiments were

que demos Indios para trajines y carneros para la saca della. No pretenden mas de salir ricos de las doctrinas. No se acuerdan del bien de los pobres y no acuden a les confesar cuando estan enfermos y ni mas ni menos a los ninos para les bautizar, sino que los dejan de un dia a otro para sus tratos y grangerias.

Item. Los dichos clérigos jamas vienen solos a las dichas doctrinas sino que traen consigo sus parientes y parientas . . . y para ello les avernos de dar los mitayos y mitayas para el servicio de sus parientes y no dando los, nos dan muchos palos y aperreamientos y estan mal con nosotros. Por lo referido y por lo consiguiente quieren que les démos Indios y carneros para sus grangerias y salir ricos. Lo qual no pretenden los frailes sino en ocuparse en doctrinarnos y acudiendo a todos los necesarios y bien de los pobres.

Item. Que a los dichos clérigos les vale mas el pie del altar y casamientos y entierros que el salario y no se contentan con esto sino que piden mucho mas dinero para luego irse a Castilla. Lo cual no pretenden los frailes, sino que estan en sus conventos y con la mayor parte de sus sinodos compraban ornamentos y lo demas necesario para la iglesia. Lo qual no hazen los clérigos y asi tenemos necesidad que vuelvan a las dichas doctrinas como de antes y echar de ellas a los clérigos y esta es nuestra voluntad.

Item. Los dichos clérigos cuando les dan la limosna de un difunto, que es ofreciendo un carnero o dos o mas y no siendo buenos no los quieren recibir sino que mandan que traigan otros que sean buenos y que

valgan a diez pesos y de otra manera no los quieren recibir. Lo qual no hazen los frailes sino que reciben aquello que les dan y esto los reparten con los huérfanos y viejos y viejas pobres de los dichos pueblos. Demas desto los fiscales y sacristanes no tienen otro oficio sino en ir por aji [two words illegible], por harina y no acuden a servir a las iglesias de los pueblos de la provincia como estan obligados. Para todo lo qual pedimos a su Excelencia nos provea de los dichos frailes Franciscos, para que nos doctrinen y nos enseñen la fe católica atento que son religiosos recogidos como de antes. Esto no pedimos a su Excelencia debajo de malicia sino que lo pedimos con buen zelo. Las iglesias se acabaron aviendolo frailes y estando clérigos [two words illegible] ira adelante sino a menos y nosotros lo padeceremos y saviendo todo esto, pedimos y suplicamos a su Excelencia nos oiga y compadezca de nosotros y nos provea para ello su cedula y provision real para que puedan entrar y tomar posesion los dichos frailes. De otra suerte pereceremos como al presente se van destruyendo.

Pedimos justicia y firmamos de nuestros nombres que es hecho en esta provincia de los Pacajes a postrero del mes de Enero de mil y quinientos y noventa y ocho años. Don Gabriel Cussiqui, Don Pedro Pachicura, Don Juan Chuqui Mamani, Don Gerónimo Vanaco, Don Pedro Nina, Don Fernando Varache, Don Antonio Sirpatroco, Don Juan Tola, Don Diego Caraqué, Don Francisco Yucra, Don Pedro Paser [?]. All are original signatures and all with rubrics.

sincere and well founded is confirmed by other authorities, both civil⁶⁶ and ecclesiastic. Father Pablo José de Arriaga, the Jesuit, who devoted much of his life to the task of searching out the secret idolatries of the Indians, gave a sober evaluation of the efforts of the Franciscans and other religious.

... Lest anyone should say, not without reason, that it seems we wish to exalt the members of the Company in Peru on account of their missions and to give the impression that they alone labor for the welfare of the Indians and are zealous for their conversion, being as it is the truth that the first who devoted themselves to this work and who are responsible for the beginnings of the Christianity of Peru are the many and noble religious of the Orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, St. Augustine and Our Lady of Mercy. They are the ones who since the discovery of this land settled in it from 1535 and afterwards; and the last ones who arrived, and *then to a thing already completed and confirmed*, were the members of the Company, thirty-three years later in 1568. It cannot be denied that all the other Orders labor and have labored more among the Indians, than the Company.... (My italics)⁶⁷

66. Some of the typical opinions of the highest royal officials are given here. Their tone is laudatory, but they were not chosen on that account. The author has not encountered any communications from the viceroys adverse to the Franciscans of sixteenth-century Peru. Those which condemned the abuses of individual friars have already been given. These are wide judgments passed on the friars in general. They do not signify that each Franciscan in Peru was an outstanding or exceptional man.

a. "Carta del Presidente La Gasca al Real Consejo. Los Reyes, 25 de Setiembre de 1548," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, I, 132: "... seria gran servicio que a Dios y a S. M. y bien de la tierra se haria en poblar sus casas de religiosos de sant Francisco o Sancto Domingo ... y ansi muchos me lo han hablado."

b. "Carta del Licenciado Castro a S. M. Los Reyes, 2 de Setiembre de 1567," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, III, 268: "Por parte de los religiosos de la orden de San Francisco se me ha pedido suplique a V. M. les prorogue la merced del vino y aceite ... muy justo es que V. M. les haga esta merced y limosna porque mucho fruto hazen en esta tierra."

c. "Carta de D. Francisco de Toledo a S. M. Cuzco, 1 de Marzo de 1572," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, IV, 28: "... especialmente a los de San Francisco no se les puede negar sino que cuadran mas para las conversiones destos naturales que otra religion de las que han pasado en estos reynos."

d. "Carta del Conde del Villar a S. M. Callao, 25 de Mayo de 1586," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, X, 89: "Aunque todas las Religiones sirven aca a Dios y a V. M. los de San Francisco y la Compañia de Jesus lo hacen con ventaja y ansi me parece lo mas a proposito para doctrinar yndios...."

e. "Carta del Marques de Cañete a S. M. Los Reyes, 2 de Mayo de 1592," in Levillier, *Gobernantes*, XII, 269 f: "Gran inquietud y desasiego ay en las doctrinas en que estan religiosos de las ordenes de Santo Domingo, de la Merced y San Agustin porque viven en ellas con mucha libertad sin guardar lo que profesa su orden y tratan y contratan y procuran hacerse ricos como lo puede hazer cualquier seglar, solo los frailes Franciscanos y los descalzos si aca viniessen, son mas a proposito y de mejor aprovechamiento."

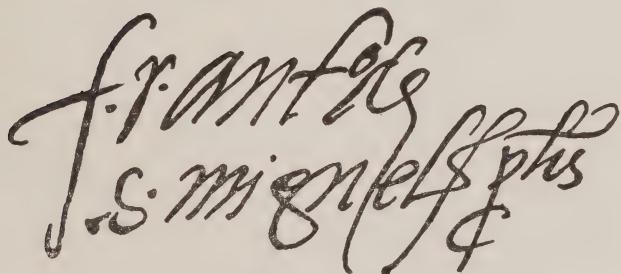
There is one criticism of the work of evangelization in sixteenth-century Peru which deserves mention because of the merit and prestige of the critic. This is the complaint of the famous Doctor Francisco D'Avila that the instruction given the Indian was too positive. He maintained that the priests did not preach against the ancient idolatry, but addressed their people as though they were old Christians. See "Parecer y Arbitrio del Doctor Francisco Davila para el remedio de la idolatría en los Indios deste Arçobispado. Lima, 16 de Febrero de 1616," *Revista Histórica*, XI (1937), 329 f.

67. Pablo José de Arriaga, S.J., *Extirpación de la Idolatría del Pirú* (Lima, 1621), capítulo XX: "... Y que dixese alguno no

The Franciscans in Peru did their share to achieve the result described by Arriaga: the firm establishment of Christianity in Peru by about 1570. It could well be that the other Orders and perhaps the diocesan clergy had a larger part in the achievement than the Franciscans; certainly the Dominicans and Mercedarians had more *doctrinas*. It seems, however, that the Franciscans in sixteenth-century Peru were not surpassed by any group in the effectiveness of their ministry or in fidelity to their mission.

sin fundamento, que parece que nos queremos alzar los de la Compañía en estos Reynos del Piru con las misiones, a dar a entender que solos los de ella son los que trabajan en provecho de los Indios, y los que tienen zelo de su conversion. Siendo como es verdad, que los primeros que en ella se ocuparon, y a quien se les deven los principios de la Christiandad del Piru, son a los muchos y grandes religiosos de las Religiones sagradas de S. Domingo, S. Francisco, S. Agustín y Nuestra Señora de

la Merced, que son los que desde el descubrimiento de este nuevo mundo, por los años del Señor de mil y quinientos y treinta y cinco y de ay adelante hicieron asiento en el, y los posteriores que vinieron y ya como a cosa hecha y asentada fueron los de la Compañía de Jesus, treynta y tres años despues, el año de 1568. No se puede negar que todas las demás Religiones an trabajado y trabajan mas entre los Indios, que la Compañía. . . .”



CONCLUSION

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES prove that the Franciscans arrived in Peru late in 1531. The older chronicles, whose testimony has not yet been disproved, state that the first group of friars consisted of Fray Marcos de Niza and twelve companions. Internal conditions in Peru during the first two decades did not favor the peaceful work of evangelization, and the scant evidence available today suggests that these pioneer friars were not able to accomplish very much. By the end of 1547 there were only three permanent Franciscan residences in what is present-day Peru.

The pacification of Peru in 1548 and the arrival of large numbers of Franciscans from Spain and Mexico opened a new epoch. Circumstances now favored the friars; and Fray Francisco de Vitoria, the first commissary general, was able not only to organize the usual province, but also to establish residences in many cities.

These measures, however, did not have the expected immediate effects. On the one hand, the ecclesiastical superiors were unwilling to surrender the Indian parishes to the friars permanently. On the other, some Franciscan superiors hesitated to accept these parishes as permanent Franciscan obligations because they did not consider such activity to be in accord with the traditional Franciscan way of life. Consequently, for some years the friars worked among the natives only as occasion permitted, mostly in response to invitations from the encomenderos. Finally, in 1570 Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, ignoring the preferences of both bishops and provincials, ordered the Franciscans to assume permanent charge of those Indian parishes in which they were then laboring. These parishes numbered fifty-nine with a total of at least 118,833 Indians, about one-tenth of the native population of Peru at that time.

The method employed by the Franciscans of Peru in their Indian parishes was based on the system adopted earlier by their fellow friars of Mexico. Its objective was not only the conversion of the Indian to Christianity but also the integration of the native into the cultural life of the colony. The church was intended to be not only the religious and social center of village life, but also, at least to a certain extent, the economic and intellectual center as well. The friars supervised and sometimes taught the local school, helped found hospitals and *obrages*, and organized the religious societies of the community. The religious

conversion of the Indian was carried on under a rigidly supervised plan, modeled on the life led by the friars in their monasteries, which provided for a continuing process of indoctrination of the native in Christian living. At the same time, vestiges of the ancient pagan religion were sought out and, when discovered, destroyed.⁶⁸

By the end of the sixteenth century, most of the Indians in the Franciscan *doctrinas* had been baptized. The sincerity of the conversion is difficult to ascertain. However, there is nothing known⁶⁹ at the present time which would indicate that by the close of that century the large majority were not sincere Christians. Certainly the almost unanimous support of the caciques would indicate that the friars in Peru had won over this influential native group in their parishes.

68. George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," Julian H. Steward (ed.), *Handbook of South American Indians* (6 vols.; Washington, 1946-1950), II, 400-406, seems to think that the men of the sixteenth century failed to convert the Quechua. One of the circumstances which impelled Kubler to that decision is the quantity of pagan sacred objects discovered among the Indians during the first decades of the seventeenth century. The proof seems to be a rather weak basis for a broad generalization. On the one hand, there is good reason to doubt that the majority of the reputedly sacred objects uncovered by the inquisitorial teams were genuine. As a matter of fact a careful reading of the inquisitorial records suggests that the Indians almost had to surrender something to satisfy the demanding inquisitors. On the other hand, relatively few such objects were found in the areas cared for by the Franciscans. As mentioned in chapter four of this study, the friars had diligently sought out such objects years before.

69. The conditions uncovered during the campaigns against idolatry in seventeenth-century Peru seem to some to challenge

the sincerity of the conversion of the Indian. However, it would seem that the findings of these campaigns should not be given full credence without careful examination. In the first place, in some instances the examiners proceeded in an excessively inquisitorial manner with its concomitant hysteria and fear; secondly, these campaigns proved to be handy weapons whereby some bishops were able to force removal of the religious from the *doctrinas* and thus to undo some of the work of Toledo. The influence of mixed motives should be weighed in such cases. Lastly, Pablo José Arriaga, S. J., specifically exempts the *doctrinas* of Jauja from the contagion. Other authorities do the same for the *doctrinas* near Lambayeque and in Cajamarca. Jerónimo de Oré, then Bishop of La Imperial, who knew the Collaguas Indians well, after an examination of the evidence reported that the charges were exaggerated. The Dominican provincial agreed with this conclusion. See Constantino Bayle, S. J., "Los clérigos y la extirpación de la idolatría entre los néofitos americanos," *Missionalia Hispánica*, III (1946), 53-98.

Relacio Vera de Novis Insulis*



THE AUTHOR of the *Relacio Vera* was a German Franciscan, Nicholas Herborn, who was born in the village of Herborn in the 1480's and from this fact became known as Herborn, although his family name was Ferber. As a friar, Herborn became one of the most active opponents of Protestantism in the Rhine provinces and in Holland and Denmark. For many years he occupied the pulpit of the Cologne Cathedral and helped to keep that city true to the old Faith. At the same time he published almost twenty works against the new movement. He was a true humanist and a good and zealous priest. In 1529 Herborn was elected provincial of the province of Cologne, and in 1532 he journeyed in that capacity to Toulouse in southern France to attend the general chapter of the Franciscan Order. Here on May 18, 1532, he was elected general superior of all Franciscans of Germany, France, England, Ireland, Portugal and Spain, as well as the overseas possessions of the last two countries, with the title of commissary general.

As commissary general, Herborn naturally continued his interest in the areas in which he had formerly labored, but he did not neglect his responsibilities towards the natives of the New World. Especially important in this regard in his "Epitome convertendi gentes Indiarum ad fidem Christi," in which Herborn tells the missionaries not only what they must teach the Indians but also how they should treat them. A thorough study of this work and its influence on the Franciscan apostolate especially in sixteenth-century Mexico still remains to be undertaken. See Ludwig Schmitt, S.J., *Der Kölner Theologe Nikolaus Stagefyr und der Franziskaner Nikolaus Herborn* (Freiburg i. Br., 1896), *passim*, and Edmund Kurten, O.F.M., *Franz Lambert von Avignon und Nikolaus Herborn in ihrer Stellung zum Ordensgedanken und zum Franziskanertum im besonderen* (Münster i. w., 1950), *passim*.

The writer first became interested in Herborn in 1936 while doing some research on the German Franciscans and their attitude towards Martin Luther. At that time Schmitt's chapters on Herborn's influence in the Americas aroused his interest and a desire to delve deeper into this subject, but both the interest and the desire remained sterile until the author happened to read a Portuguese translation of a small part of one of the reports which Herborn wrote on America. This Portuguese translation from the Latin original was in turn translated into Spanish and published in *Efemérides de la Provincia de San Francisco Solano*, I (Lima, 1945), 15-18. Subsequently the author acquired a microfilm copy of the original through the kindness of Philotheus Boehner, O.F.M. Repeated attempts to communicate with Frei

* Trierer Stadtbibliothek, Codex 1374.

Odulfo Van der Vat, O.F.M., of Divinópolis, Brazil, the Portuguese translator, have all proved futile.

While in Toulouse, Herborn met the friars who had come from the New World to present their reports on the condition of the Order in the Americas; there also he had a chance to read the reports sent in by other American friars who had been unable to appear in person. The information which Herborn gleaned from these sources was contained in a long letter which he wrote to the members of his Cologne province. The original letter has been lost, but a contemporaneous copy exists in the Trierer Stadtbibliothek, codex 1374; a microfilm copy has been used by the author. The pertinent paragraphs which describe Túmbez and its vicinity are given here in an English translation. Thereafter, follows the entire contents in the original Latin.

Within the past year and a half, the Spaniards and other Christians took a city of great magnitude with a circumference of seventeen leagues. The name of the city is Túmbez in the province of Pariche. [Pariche cannot be located in any known source. Can it be an error of the copyist? Túmbez, however, is used only of the city or area in northern Peru.] They took this city not by force, for it yielded voluntarily to the obedience of the emperor and to the Faith. *Thither a Franciscan superior with five friars has set out* [my italics], and already fifteen friars have been sent from the chapter at Toulouse by the commissary general. Five principal men of this city betook themselves in the past days to the empress and they remain with her until this present day. The emperor has commanded that no religious other than Franciscans of the Observance should go to these peoples for they [the Franciscans] do not possess gold or silver and even, according to their rule of life, own nothing. On this account, the empress herself and the imperial chancery in many letters to us at Toulouse strove that we should supply that people recently converted to the Faith with good and upright friars; this was done and is being done each day by the provincials of Spain.

Before the Faith had been preached in that city, there were many monasteries of virgins, which no person, not even a father or a mother, dared enter. Two ancients were their supervisors, and no one except chaste virgins was sent to their company. They had a golden image of a virgin five cubits high, holding an infant in her arms. They called her Merea. They offered her incense, worshiped her and were wont to pray to her if they suffered in a foot or a hand. They offered a golden hand or foot to the image and thus at last they regained their health. The people of that city and of the entire region were outstanding for their good sense and their good morals. The women were veiled to the nose, and when one spouse dies, the partner does not remarry. If anyone should commit either adultery or the crime of fornication, the guilty one is punished with the most severe chastisements. In that city are weavers of linen and silk cloth, and they make also many weapons of gold and silver, many of which have been sent to the emperor. There is also an abundance of wheat, barley and wine. There is also a river which they say flows from paradise. In the months of June and July many and very fine fruits are borne along on the waters of this stream. The fig and many other fruits also flourish there. Most temperate is the climate of that region, nor can anyone number either the inhabitants or their homes. Thirty leagues from that city, there is another, large and strong and inhabited by the very strong, bearded and hairy people, who have up till

now repulsed both the Faith and the Spaniards, in which [city] thirteen friars have suffered martyrdom.

It is necessary to sail three thousand leagues from Seville before anyone can reach this Tierra Firme. A certain Flemish Franciscan has baptized more than five hundred thousand in Tierra Firme with his own hand. And another, from whom we have received and heard these tidings, stated to me that he had instructed in the Faith and baptized five thousand. Let Germany take care lest that nation receive the kingdom and the crown, lest she herself be struck by the same ban by which the blind obstinacy of the Jews was punished: "The kingdom shall be taken away from you and it shall be given to a people who do its justice" [cf. Matt. 21:43]. (My italics.)

When the author first read this description of the new land, he thought that it was too fantastic to be of any value. Later, however, it appeared that other accounts which were equally fantastic in their descriptions of the country and the people were being accorded credence even though not regarded as necessarily reliable in all details. In fact the very fantastic aspects of the descriptions seemed to recommend these accounts, for these were regarded as evidence of the surprise which overwhelmed the conquerors upon their first glimpse of the Inca Empire. (See Raúl Porras Barrenechea, "Cronistas Primitivos," *Cuadernos de Estudio*, I [1941], 177 f.) The "Relación Samano-Xerez" (CDIHE, V, 200), which is regarded as a valuable source, also speaks of the statue of a woman with a child in her arms, who was called María Messeia, to which the Indians if cured of an affliction in the arm or leg would present a golden or silver replica. Nor should the evident exaggerations of the grandeurs of Túmbez cause any difficulty to one who has read the narrative of Garcilaso (Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia General del Perú* [3 vols.; Buenos Aires, 1944], I, 42 f.) or Herrera (*op. cit.*, V, 97 f.). For these reasons the author decided to accept Herborn's account, despite its exaggerations and possible errors.

The full narrative follows:

RELACIO VERA DE NOVIS INSULIS

In terris nuper repertis ad quas ego frater Nicolaus Herborn generalis comissarius totius ordinis fratrum minorum de observantia ex capitulo Tholosano misi quatuordecim fratres, sunt plures insulae. Quarum priorem vocant Desidesathan [sic], quam Indi maxime incolunt: secunda dicta est Sancta Maria in qua sunt plurimi Indi, qui se citro ultiroque occidunt et humanis vescuntur carnibus; estque supra quam dici potest fructifera et fertilis; suntque inibi animalia silvestria, quam plurimi cervi, leones et tigrides. Tertia dicitur Dominica; suntque incolae infideles, idolatrae et robustissimi homines adeo ut Hispani necdum eos expugnare potuerint; sunt minerae multae atque vasa aurea et argentea et animalia multa. Quarta dicitur Sancti Johannis, in qua sunt animalia domestica et silvestria et boves; fertilisque est et habundans sucari cassiae fistulae subjectaque tota imperatori; in qua sunt quatuor conventus, duo Sancti Francisci et Sancti Dominici totidem. Quinta insula dicitur Sancti Christophori, habens homines truces adeoque robustos ut necdum expugnaverint eos Hispani, suntque infideles. Sexta insula dicitur Sancta Barbara; et septima dicitur Undecim Mille Virgines. Praeterea sunt et aliae septem insulae quae dicuntur Gigantes,

quando quidem homines habent proceri corporis et fortes, suntque omnes cristiani Deoque et sanctis ejus devoti. Suntque sub hoc et aliae octo insulae quas vocant Guantes, omnes infideles nudi incedunt, habundantes in pecoribus et animalibus. Est et alia insula dicta Ferdinandina, quae Christo subjecta est, habens unum conventum ordinis minorum; auri et argenti magna copia hic cassiae fistulæ zucari ferox enim omnium harum rerum est; animalia silvestria et domestica omnis fere generis supra modum numero et magnitudine prestancia nostratibus. Postremo, alia est insula Jamaica appellata, quam cristiani possident, habundans zucari cassiae, etc. Demum est insula Hispanica, antea [?] Hyati dicta, tota Hispania major; omnes incolae cristiani sunt. Estque ibi imperialis audiencia sive parlamentum; sunt duo episcopatus in eadem. Haec prima [word omitted: provincia (?)] omnium quae Sanctae Crucis dicitur. Terra inclita ac ferox, homines ditissimi adeo locupletes, ut liceat invenire unum qui possideat triginta mille boves et totidem arietes atque porcos. Tam vilia sunt autem ibi animalia estimata et nullius momenti ut alteri carnem donent pro excoriatione, et ipsi donantes pellem retineant. In eadem insula neque vermes sunt nec pulices neque pulvis arescens, quoniam quidem nuncquam arescit campus. Sunt ibi arbores omnis generis caspea, fistula, cedri, cypresi, palmae, platani, feruntque fructus salubres et dulces. Alii sunt fructus a cristianis non antea visi; equi et muli sine numero. Sunt in ea quinque conventus ordinis minorum; estque omnium insularum et Indiarum caput.

Insula Sanctae Marthae trecentos habet ex Germania artifices auri et argenti; totiusque insulae gubernator est Alemanus. Sunt ibi bestiae multae, sunt reptilia quoque multa, item leones et tigrides qui infantes rapiunt in cunabulis et devorant. Huius insulae incolae necdum omnes Christo manus dederunt. Est insuper alia insula quae Terra Firma dicitur vergens ad meridiem linea equinoxiali, in qua inter diem et noctem nichil est discriminis, nec est in ea hiems nec ver sed tota est aequalis; estque noviter reperta post omnes insulas, ideoque non insulae sed terrae continentis et firmae appellandam nomine existimant. Vocatur haec Nova Hispania; in qua est civitas ingens, centena milia focorum primiorum ac trecentas et sexaginta turres habens, aquis undique circumfusa sicut Venecia. Hanc prius Themis-titan vocitabant; huic praerat rex cui nomen Montezuma. Eratque ei unicus filius; huius in omni prandio et cena nova recentiaque vasa mensis inferebantur, etenim quibus semel usus erat reponebantur nec licuit ea mensis regiis inferre. Homines qui eam urbem incolebant idolis dediti, hominum non modo exta sed corda ipsa litabant. Idque quo videretur religiosius ac divinius non nisi jussu fiebat daemonis impostoris qui ex simulachris responsa dabat. Siquidem qui aris ferisque acedi praerat sacerdos eum hominem quem oraculum didicit correptum cultris eo loco aperiebat ubi cordis domicilium solet esse, arreptoque corde cum sanguine et aurea paropside imposito cruento humano portenti faciem oblinuit. Phanum vero ipsum ex auro argentoque extuctum erat ingens et magnificentum; in quod per sexaginta gradus ascendebatur et idolis immolabatur. Hanc quamlibet ingentem et munitam civitatem Hispani armis vique ac bellicis insultibus interfecto rege ceperunt; ac fidei orthodoxae imperatorique Karolo quinto subjacerunt. Impium vero phanum solo equatum est; et eo loco quo antea diis daemonibusque sanguis humanus litatus est, inclitum extuctum est monasterium fratrum minorum regularis observantiae, in quo quinquaginta fratres demoran-

tur qui nichil aliud unde sibi victum acquirant faciunt quamque juxta regulam et vivunt et docent populum, ac semel sub hebdomada panem emendicant. Adeo enim omnia eis ab his suppeditantur quibus evangelizant spiritualia et tam abunde omnia administrantur, quae mille fratribus sufficienter oblatae elemosinae. Quisque frater trecentis vel quadringentis juvenibus preeest, quos in fide ac moribus religiose educare et instituere curat. Juvenes vero optima indole praediti sunt, simplices utpote cum sint, facilius obsequuntur jussis magistrorum; minime loquaces sunt, carent et vitae et morum corruptiones, quodque maximum in ea aetate est; aut cantant aut orant, seque sua sponte matutinis et aliis fratrum precibus ingerunt. Tanta inest illis juvenibus industria tanta et spiritus divini vis, ut non modo ipsi bene religioseque de Christo sentiant sed et alios promiscue doceant palamque de fide et moribus disserant, ut verissime in eos dixisse videatur David: Ex ore infantium et lactentium perfecisti laudem propter inimicos tuos ut destruas inimicum et ultorem: id est, poetas, oratores, legislatores, pseudo-apostolos, hypocritas et hereticos, qui nuper in orbem Germanicum multa humana prudencia fulti irrepsérunt. Sunt quoque in eadem civitate praefata ab imperatrice ex Hispaniis multae matronae honestae et industriae missae quae juvenilas vitam christianorum doceant, quae ubi imbutae fuerint et adoloverint maritis junguntur. Et ita convertitur vir infidelis per mulierem fidem. Sicque in dies sumit robur et augmentum fides catholica, sitque ibi progressus ecclesiae defectae qualis fuit exortus. Siquidem sub exordium publicani et meretrices, infirmi, debiles et claudi et caeci vim intulerunt evangelio, idem licet cernere in Nova Hispania: quae enim infirma sunt elegit Deus ut confundat fortia, si Paulo credimus. Est in ea civitate archiepiscopus de ordine minoritarum vir admodum probus et religiosus, non ut vulgus episcoporum nostratium tesseris et ludis aliisque rebus profanis contaminatus, sed ea agens quae Paulus suo praescripsit Timotheo et Tito, et item praesidens consilii de ordine minorum. Proinde devotione populus adductus Dominicanis etiam nunc extruxit monasterium fratribus. In ea regione non spectatur polus arcticus sed antarcticus, adeo dissident a nobis. Tam ferax est terra ut quovis anno bis crescent fruges, triticum et hordeum; vina crescunt optima quamquam paucae sint vineae, quando quidem in dies plantantur et coluntur. Haec terra et civitas sub quinque annis inventa et recepta est ac imperatori maximo subjecta; totamque Hispaniam, Galliam et Germaniam sua magnitudine superat, nam quinque annis aliqui temptaverunt ejus reperire finem et necedum invenerunt. Insuper nemo est neque fidelium neque infidelium qui non humanitatis atque hospitalitatis fratribus et hospitibus beneficium impendant. Ethnici et quibus necedum lux veritatis innotuit, fratres appellant filios solis, multisque precibus obtestantur ut se Cristum fidemque edoceant. Tota terra sunt minerae aureae et argenteae et metallicae; lapides pretiosi tam multi sunt tamque varii ut non secus atque arbusta videantur crescere. Toto anno campi prataque virent et gemina producere videntur, numquam non inveniuntur fructus in arboribus, id est perpetuo. Nox vix sesquihoram in ea regione continet. Ante conversionem ad fidem, non erant inter eos legitima conjugia; sed frater cum sorore et aliis item aliis consanguineis et affinibus commiscebantur. Plerique tamen pluribus; imo multi viginti uxoribus maritali videbantur affectu conjuncti. Nulla est apud eos rerum neque almoniae caritas. Omnes divites sunt, neque aliquos qui stipe vivant frates qui ex professione ad

mendicitatem astringuntur reperies. Sunt autem amplius quam per quatuor mille leucas homines ad fidem conversi et imperatori subjecti. Multo vero major est magnitudo ejus terrae et regionis quae necdum ad fidem conversa est, quam ejus quae fidei manus dedit. Homines ejus regionis vestitu utebantur de lana quam vocant bombicem bauwolle [Baumwolle (?)] quam prata et campi administrant. Cervisiae potus non infrequens, panes quoque piscos [*sic*] carnesque ita parabant ut fere ad nostratum morem accederent. Numquam eam regionem pestis invasit aut alii morbi qui bonam partem Europae inficiunt, sola febre perrara dempta, quam facile tamen erat ferre. Eo fit ut longo tempore vivant homines; alii videlicet centum, alii ducentis, alii trecentis annis; maxime vero mulieres longissimae vitae existunt. Non habet ea regio vermes, culices, pulices, pediculos. Mulier apud eam gentem vocatur henne; pater lingua eorum herch, mater hach, panem vocant cassabi, vinum quassatum, aquam viue, lignum hennych, homines masculos cathideos, deum vocant solem quando quidem solem pro deo colebant, solem vocant tassi, pisces sessua, noctem dicunt acupinam.

Infra sesquiannum quaedam pregrandis civitas [*sic*] Hispani et Cristiani alii obtinuerunt ingentis magnitudinis civitatem, nam in circuitu habet septemdecim magnas leucas; nomen vero civitatis Tumbes, provincia vero Pariche. Hanc autem non armis acceperunt, sed suapte sponte sese et fidei et caesaris ditioni dederunt. Eo minister minorum cum quinque fratribus profectus est; et jam quindecim fratres ex Tholosano capitulo a commissario generali missi sunt. Quinque vero nobiles superioribus diebus ex ea civitate ad imperatricem sese contulerunt, atque usque in hunc diem apud eamdem diversantur. Praecepit autem imperator ne quispiam aliorum religiosorum ad eas gentes se conferret praeter fratres de observantia minoritarum, qui aurum et argentum non possident, imo juxta regulam nil proprii habent. Eaque ratione imperialis curia ipsaque imperatrix augusta multis egit literis apud nos Tholosae uti provideremus illi genti recens [*sic*] ad fidem conversae de probris et honestis fratribus quod et factum est, et in dies per Hispaniae ministros fit. Erant ante fidem Christi praedicatam in ea urbe multa virginum monasteria ad quae nemo virorum imo nec pater aut mater audebat intrare; soli duo senes illis praefecti fuerunt; nullique nisi virgines purae ad earum mittebantur consortium.

Erat illis imago aurea quinque cubitorum virginis figuram praferens, brachiisque infantulum gestans. Hanc Meream appellavere. Huic thura jactabant, hanc colebant, hanc interpellare solite [*sic*] si quando vel pes vel manus indoluit. Conferebant aureum pedem aut auream manum imagini; et ita demum consequebantur sanitatem. Homines illius civitatis et totius regionis admodum ratione pollebant et honesti erant, nam mulieres ad nares usque velatae incedebant; altero moriente coniuge alter perpetuam viduitatem vivebat. Si quispiam vel adulterium vel fornicationis crimen admississet, gravissimis animadvertebatur poenis. In ea civitate sunt artifices panni lini ac oloserici, tela quoque de auro et argento fiunt ex quibus multa imperatori destinaverunt; triticum, ordeum, vinum in magna est ibi copia. Est quoque in ea fluvius quem e paradiso emanare feruntur; mense Junii et Julii multa poma et optima adnatare per eundem fluvium solent. Ficus quoque et alii quamplurimi fructus crescunt. Temperatissimus est in ea regione aer; neque hominum neque domorum numerum quis assequi potest ejus civitatis.

Ab hac civitate per triginta leucas alia quaedam civitas magna ac robusta sita est; quam incolunt robustissimi homines et hysuti et pilosi; porro qui et fidem et Hispanos hactenus a se reppulerunt, in qua et tredecim fratres minores propter fidem Cristi martirium passi sunt. Antea quam ad terram firmam navigio deveniant, tria milia leucarum metiri oportet ab Hispalensi portu incipiendo. Quidam ex fratribus regularis observantiae flandrensis nacione in terra firma manu propria plus quam quingenta milia hominum baptizavit. Et alias a quo haec recepimus et audivimus, is auribus nostris dixit quinque milia se baptizasse et in fidem instituisse.

Videat jam Germania ne illa natio et regnum et sceptrum recipiat: ne ve ipsa percutiatur sententia qua Judaeorum caeca obstinatio percussa est: auferetur a vobis regnum et dabitur genti facienti justiciam ejus. Haec Frater Nicolaus Herborn provinciae Coloniae fratrum minorum de observantia minister provincialis anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo secundo in capitulo generali cismontano Tholosae celebrato a fratribus ordinis Sancti Francisci de observantia qui ex praefatis insulis ad generale capitulum missi sunt audiens, propter bonorum edificationem ac in fide catholica confirmationem ad Germaniam manu propria scripsit.

Marcos de Niza's Testimony



WO VERSIONS OF NIZA'S TESTIMONY concerning his stay in Peru are known to the author. One is contained in the *Brevíssima Relación* written by Las Casas in 1542 and published in 1552; the second is found in a manuscript begun in 1548 and completed in 1550 but which had never been published before Fabié printed it (Fabié, *Vida y Escritos*, II, 293-407). If the two versions were identical, there would be no difficulty; but there are notable variations which have led some authors to deny the authenticity of the 1548 copy. Fabié, however, after carefully comparing the two versions, decided that because of the similarity of style and contents, both are by Las Casas. Concerning the style of the 1548 manuscript, he states categorically (Fabié, *op. cit.*, I, 283), "it [the style] is undoubtedly the same as that of Father Las Casas." His study of the contents of the 1548 copy led Fabié to conclude (*Ibid.*, I, 287, n.2): ". . . this passage, among others, proves that both works are Las Casas' . . ." In other words, style and contents prove that Las Casas was the author of both works, despite the variations.

Perhaps nowhere are these variations between the two texts more marked than in the testimony of Niza. Yet, in both instances, Las Casas assures the reader that the words, with all their differences, are the "exact words" of Niza, countersigned by the Bishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga (Fabié, *op. cit.*, II, 280 and 377). This is not to say that there is a substantial difference between the two readings, for there is none, but if Las Casas were quoting the exact words of Niza then logically one would expect that those words should be the same in both versions. They are not.

Nor can the changes be blamed on some copyist, because they are too frequent to be the unintentional errors of a copyist, and the result of the emendations is to improve the text, since the 1548 version is filled with literary crudities, which are not found in the printed copy. The net effect of the changes is not only to improve the style but also to increase the emphasis and clarity of Niza's testimony and thus to increase its effectiveness as a witness against the conquistadors. Hence it would seem that the changes were made for the printed text by Las Casas as editor, and in the editing those phrases crept in which aroused the suspicion of Carbia.

Of the two texts, the writer would think that the 1548 manuscript preserves more accurately the words of Niza himself. For the style of the testimony in that text suggests that the author was not yet at home in the Spanish language and had some difficulty expressing his thoughts. This would certainly have been true of the Niza of 1532. For he, born in France, had come to Spanish America in 1529 and might well have had difficulties with the Spanish language after only three years. (This fact seems to have been generally overlooked, though it would seem to be a

mitigating factor especially in the sometimes acrimonious debate concerning Niza's *relación* of his later trip to Cíbola, in which the contesting parties haul and tug at almost every word of the hapless friar.)

The first few sentences of Niza's testimony are given here with the changed phrases in each case italicized.

MANUSCRIPT VERSION (1548)

Yo, fray Márcos de Niça, de la órden del *bien adventurado* San Francisco, comisario de los padres de la misma órden en las provincias del Perú, que fuy de los *primeros que en ellas entraron*, dando testimonio de algunas *crueldades* que bí en aquella tierra, digo cerca de *mal* tratamiento y conquistas hechas á los naturales *della*; *prosubpongase primero la certisima experiencia que ay de ser aquellos yndios del Peru la jente mas benébola y mansa de todas las Indias . . . y ví más*, que sin dar causa ni ocasión *alguna* aquellos *simples yndios á los cristianos*, luégo que entraron en sus tierras despues de *les* aver dado *su* mayor Cacique Atabaliba *los millones susodichos y toda la tierra en su poder, aquesa gran provincia que él señooreava, sin aber quien se lo estorbase ni tal osadía tubiese*, quemaron vivo al Atabaliba. . . .

PRINTED VERSION (1552)

Yo, fray Márcos de Niza, de la órden de San Francisco, Comisario *sobre los frailes* de la misma órden en las provincias del Perú, que fué de los primeros *religiosos que con los primeros cristianos entraron en las dichas provincias*, digo, dando testimonio *verdadero* de algunas *cosas*, que *yo con mis ojos* ví en aquella tierra, mayormente cerca del tratamiento y conquistas hechas á los naturales. *Primeramente, yo soy testigo de vista*, y por experiencia cierta *conocí y alcancé* que aquellos indios del Perú es la gente más benébola *que entre los indios se ha visto . . . Item, soy testigo y doy testimonio*, que sin dar causa ni ocasión *alguna* aquellos indios á los *españoles*, luégo que entraron en sus tierras, despues de haber dado *el* mayor cacique Atabaliba más de *dos millones de oro á los españoles* y *habiéndoles* dado toda la tierra en su poder sin *resistencia*, luego quemaron al dicho Atabaliba. . . .

It should be noted that the 1552 version contains such compelling phrases as, "I saw with my eyes," "I am an eyewitness," "I am a witness and give testimony." Such phrases naturally increase the force of Niza's testimony and have been the points of severest attack by the modern authors who do not agree with the burden of his testimony. These phrases are lacking in the 1548 manuscript. A copyist hardly makes such changes.

Even more disturbing to this writer than the changes in the style, which are after all an improvement, are the paragraphs of Niza's testimony which are devoted to a recital of the cruelties of Benalcázar in his conquest of Quito. This discrepancy is quite serious, for while Las Casas says that Niza's testimony dates from 1532 or 1533, Benalcázar did not begin his conquest of Quito until February, 1534, and many of the events which are described in the testimony must have taken place some time after the inception of the conquest, almost certainly after the encounters between Alvarado and Almagro. Was Las Casas mistaken regarding the year of Niza's testimony, or did Las Casas "edit" more than the style of Niza's testimony and perhaps add a little to it against Benalcázar, the one conquistador whom he loathed perhaps more than any other? It would seem that suspicion would rest on Las Casas' editing.

It is known that in 1537 Niza did make a deposition in Mexico City concerning the cruelties which he had witnessed while in Peru. This deposition was made at the request of Bishop Zumárraga, but at that time Niza was not a *comisario* but a *custodio*, since the friars in Peru had been raised to that rank in 1535, and Niza had been elected to the office. Las Casas could hardly have incorporated that deposition, for surely Niza would have called himself by his correct title, namely *custodio* and not *comisario*.

However, Niza was a *comisario* while in Quito in August, 1534, and it is possible that he then made a deposition such as is printed by Las Casas. However, in that case, why did Las Casas say it was made in 1532 or 1533, and why did Niza say that he was among the first who entered into them (i.e., the provinces of Peru), for by 1534 there must have been more than a thousand? This is a difficulty for which the writer has no solution at the present time except to say that according to the contents, as noted above, Niza made the deposition in question after he had left Peru. When he departed after the 1534 visit, Niza was a *custodio* and not *comisario*. The mystery remains but the suspicion of Las Casas' editing is strengthened.

For the election of Niza as *custodio* and his deposition in Mexico in 1537, see, "Carta de D. Fray Juan de Zumárraga a un Eclesiástico Desconocido, México, 4 de Abril de 1537," in Mariano Cuevas, *Documentos inéditos del Siglo XVI para la Historia de México* (México, 1914), pp. 83 f. For the erection of the friars in Peru into a *custodia*, see Michael Angelus de Neapoli, *Chronologia Historico-Legalium Seraphici Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Sancti Patris Francisci*, I (Neapoli, 16??), 266: "Generale Capitulum Nizzae, 1535 . . . in amplissima regione Peru, nova erigitur Custodia, quae Custodia de Peru vocabitur." For Niza's status as a *comisario* in August, 1534, see Stella R. Clemence, *The Pizarros and the Almagros, 1531-1578* (Washington, 1936), p. 18, "Poder de Fray Marcos de Niza a favor del señor Mariscal. Santiago de Quito, 29 de Agosto de 1534." Since this is one of the few documents still extant written in Niza's own hand, it may be well to give it here in full:

En xxix de Agosto de 1534 años el padre fray Marcos comisario del custodio del nombre de Jhesus dio poder por virtud de lo que tiene al señor Mariscal [i.e., Diego de Almagro] para que pueda tomar posesyon del monasterio e poner persona que hedifique la casa y rresida en el monasterio en su lugar. Son testigos Mateo de Lezcano e Alonso Hernandes de la Veja e para que pueda gozar de todos los privilegios como padre espiritual de toda la dicha custodia. Ita est, Frater Marcus de Nisa, comisario.

The present writer's trust in Niza's veracity may cause some scholars to lift their eyebrows, for today in some quarters Niza is considered to be a thoroughly discredited man. A typical attitude is that of Henry Raup Wagner, "Fray Marcos de Niza," *New Mexico Historical Review*, IX (1934), 184-227. Wagner thinks that Niza was a charlatan who was possessed of a "perfervid imagination" and characterizes him thus: "The whole history of the man, so far as we know it, clearly indicates that he was given to loose statements and great exaggeration" (p. 226). Really this is a terribly harsh judgment of a man of whom almost nothing is known.

The writer's judgment of Niza is concerned primarily with his pre-Cíbola period. Within that limit, it is striking that the people who knew

Niza, who lived with him and had to obey his orders, as far as we know, held him in the highest regard. The friars in Peru freely elected him as their *custodio*; the friars in Mexico again of their own accord later freely chose him to be their provincial; D. Pedro de Alvarado, with whom Niza was to serve, spoke of him in complimentary fashion, while Bishop Zumárraga valued him as a friend, and Viceroy Mendoza chose him to go to Cíbola, a task of some responsibility under the circumstances then prevalent in Mexico. Were all these people who knew Marcos personally unable to comprehend his true character? And, is it given only to some modern scholars, who have almost no documentary evidence concerning this man, to see that he was a charlatan? The present writer prefers to join the company of Zumárraga, Alvarado, Mendoza and the friars of Peru and Mexico in their estimate of Niza rather than that of Wagner or Carl Sauer. For a more recent and more moderate view of Niza, see George J. Undreiner, "Fray Marcos de Niza and His Journey to Cíbola," *The Americas*, III (1947), 415-486.

For Bishop Zumárraga's friendship with Niza even in February, 1546, see Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, "Tres Cartas familiares de fray Juan de Zumárraga, primer obispo y arzobispo de México, y contestación a otra que le dirige fray Marcos de Niza," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, VI (1885), 239-252. For Alvarado's estimate of Niza, see "Carta del Adelantado D. Pedro de Alvarado al Rey. Puerto de Posesion, 18 de Enero de 1534." NYPL, Rich 82, fol. 55b: ". . . así llevo en mi compañía dos de la orden de San Francisco, aprobados, personas de toda religión, buena vida y ejemplo, tales con que la conciencia real de V. M. se descargue. . ." Niza was one of these two Franciscans.

APPENDIX III*

List of the Franciscan Provinces, Convents and *Doctrinas* in Spanish South America in April, 1589, as well as the names of the Friars then Living in Those Establishments†



MEMORIA DE TODOS LOS CONVENTOS de frayles y monjas, guardianias, vicarias y doctrinas de Indios que ay en todas las provincias y custodias de los Reynos del Piru y de los frayles de la orden de nuestro Padre San Francisco que ay en ellos y de la calidad que tienen.

En la Provincia de los Doze Apostoles ay los conventos, guardianias, vicarias, doctrinas de Indios y conventos de monjas siguientes:

GUARDIANIAS

El convento de San Francisco de Jesus de Lima;
El convento de la ciudad del Cuzco;
El convento de la ciudad de la Plata;
El convento de la Villa de Potosi;
El convento del Valle de Mizque;
El convento de Pocona, es de Indios;
El convento de la Villa de Oropesa;
El convento de la ciudad de la Paz;
El convento de la ciudad de Arequipa;
El convento de los Collaguas, es de Indios;
El convento de la ciudad de Guamanga;
El convento de los Valles de Jauja, es de Indios;
El convento de la Villa de Ica;
El convento de la Villa de Cañete;
El convento de Guancavelica;
El convento de la Villa de Arnedo;
El convento de la ciudad de Guanuco;
El convento de la ciudad de Trujillo;
El convento de la Frontera de San Juan de los Chachapoyas;
El convento de la provincia de Cajamarca, es de Indios;
El convento de la Villa de Saña;
El convento del Valle de Chiclayo, es de Indios.

* The names listed in the documents which from Appendixes III and IV are not included in the Index to this work.

† This document is found in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 13997.

**VICARIAS Y DOCTRINAS DE INDIOS SUJETOS
A LAS GUARDIANIAS**

En la Guardiania de Lima:

El pueblo de Santiago de Surco;
El pueblo de la Magdalena.

En la Guardiania del Cuzco:

El pueblo de Nuestra Senora de los Angeles del Valle de Yucai.

El Valle de Mizque

En la Guardiania de Pocona, el convento principal y otro pueblo a el sujeto.

La Guardiania de la Paz:

La doctrina de San Pedro.

En la Guardiania de Arequipa:

La doctrina de Pocosi [*sic*].

La Guardiania de los Collaguas, que es toda de Indios:

La doctrina de la Asuncion de Chibai;
La doctrina de Santiago de Coporaque;
La doctrina de San Antonio de Callalle;
La doctrina de Achoma;
La doctrina de San Pedro de Tisco;
La doctrina de la Concepcion de Lare;
La doctrina de Santiago de Madrigal;
La doctrina de San Francisco de Tuti.

La Guardiania de Jauja, que es toda de Indios:

La doctrina de la Concepcion [*sic*];
La doctrina de San Geronimo;
La doctrina de San Francisco de Orcotuna;
La doctrina de la Concepcion [*sic*] de Mito;
La doctrina de la Natividad de Apata;
La doctrina de la Asuncion de Mataguassi;
La doctrina de Santiago de Comas;
La doctrina de Santa Ana de Cinco.

La Guardiania de Ica:

La doctrina de Santiago de Lurin.

La Guardiania de Guanuco:

La doctrina de San Cristoval;
La doctrina de San Miguel de Guacar;
La doctrina de San Pedro de Acamayo.

La Guardiania de Trujillo:

La doctrina de Mançiche;
La doctrina de Guanchaco.

La Guardiania de Chachapoyas:

La doctrina de San Francisco de Chiliquin;
La doctrina de San Pedro de Levanto.

La Guardiania de Cajamarca, que es toda de Indios:

La doctrina de San Antonio de Cajamarca;
 La doctrina de Santiago de Nepos;
 La doctrina de la Santísima Trinidad;
 La doctrina de San Pablo de Chalaques;
 La doctrina de Todos Santos de Chota;
 La doctrina de la Asuncion de Nuestra Señora;
 La doctrina de San Francisco de Guzmango;
 La doctrina de San Mateo de Contumaça;
 La doctrina de Jesus;
 La doctrina de San Marcos;
 La doctrina de San Grabiel [*sic*] de Cascas;
 La doctrina de San Miguel.

La Guardiania de Chiclayo, que es toda de Indios:

La doctrina de Nuestra Señora de los Angeles;
 La doctrina de San Miguel;
 La doctrina de Eten.

CONVENTOS DE MONJAS—SANTA CLARA

El convento de Nuestra Señora de Gracia de la ciudad de Trujillo;
 El convento de Santa Clara de la ciudad de Guamanga;
 El convento de Santa Clara de la ciudad del Cuzco.

En esta Provincia de los Doze Apostoles ay los frayles siguientes, sacerdotes, confesores y predicadores.

El Padre Fray Hernando de Trexo, confesor y predicador;
 El Padre Fray Geronimo de Villacarrillo, confesor y predicador;
 El Padre Fray Rafael Nuñez, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Vega, confesor y predicador;
 El Padre Fray Geronimo Hernandez, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Geronimo Manuel, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Bernardo de Gamarra, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Pedro de Ore, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Diego de Yllanes, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Antonio Martinez, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Antonio de Ore, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Juan Soto, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Alonso Bonifaz, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Luis de Ore, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Martin de Bolonia, predicador;
 El Padre Fray Diego de Vega, predicador;
 El Padre Fray Alonso de Valdevieso, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Marcos Diaz, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Juan Navarrete, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Pedro Ranjel, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Gregorio Vivaldo, predicador y confesor;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Liçarraga, predicador y confesor.

Los Padres que son Confesores solamente:

El Padre Fray Pablo de Coinbra, confesor;
El Padre Fray Francisco Vasquez, confesor;
El Padre Fray Andres de los Angeles, confesor;
El Padre Fray Juan Saborido, confesor;
El Padre Fray Francisco de Alcocer, confesor;
El Padre Fray Francisco de Cabrera, confesor;
El Padre Fray Andres Cornejo, confesor;
El Padre Fray Miguel Ramirez, confesor;
El Padre Fray Juan Quixada, confesor;
El Padre Fray Juan de Madrigal, confesor;
El Padre Fray Geronimo de Soto, confesor;
El Padre Fray Francisco de Carvajal, confesor;
El Padre Fray Juan de la Fuente, confessor;
El Padre Fray Gregorio Rosales, confesor;
El Padre Fray Francisco de Morales, confesor;
El Padre Fray Juan de los Rios, confesor;
El Padre Fray Pedro de los Rios, confesor;
El Padre Fray Juan Ortiz, confesor;
El Padre Fray Geronimo Diaz, confesor;
El Padre Fray Diego de Vera, confesor;
El Padre Fray Geronimo de Montoya, confesor;
El Padre Fray Alonso Calvo, confesor;
El Padre Fray Domingo de Vergara, confesor;
El Padre Fray Felipe de Nareña [or Nureña], confesor;
El Padre Fray Cristobal Guerrero, confesor;
El Padre Fray Alonso de Vera, confesor;
El Padre Fray Luis de San Gil, confesor;
El Padre Fray Juan de Torres, confesor;
El Padre Fray Alonso Pinto, confesor;
El Padre Fray Alonso Colmenares, confesor;
El Padre Fray Ynigo de Guinea, confesor;
El Padre Fray Francisco de Figueroa, confesor;
El Padre Fray Francisco de Espinosa, confesor;
El Padre Fray Alonso de Roa, confesor;
El Padre Fray Mateo de Recalde, confesor;
El Padre Fray Pedro de Ortega, confesor;
El Padre Fray Juan de Zevallos, confesor;
El Padre Fray Agustin de Salinas, confesor;
El Padre Fray Melchior de Espinar, confesor;
El Padre Fray Geronimo Correa, confesor;
El Padre Fray Bartolome de Mansilla, confesor;
El Padre Fray Grabiela [sic] Niño, confesor;
El Padre Fray Juan de Medina, confesor;
El Padre Fray Luis de la Torre, confesor;
El Padre Fray Francisco Ortiz, confesor;
El Padre Fray Juan de Escobedo, confesor;
El Padre Fray Alonso Cerrato, confesor;
El Padre Fray Pedro Ortiz, confesor;

El Padre Fray Geronimo de los Nidos, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Alcocer, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Francisco de Otalora, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Francisco Galves, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Luis Sotelo, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Diego de la Vera, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Cristobal Lopez, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Pedro Roman, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Francisco de Narvaez, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Francisco de la Cueba, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Antonio de Betancur, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Pedro de Acosta, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Bartolome Bautista, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Francisco de Chavez, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Meneses, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Hernando Xuarez, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Pedro de Vera, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Alonso Calvo, confesor; [this same name is given above].
 El Padre Fray Jose Flores, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Cristobal de Merida, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Antonio Ruyz, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Lope Boicarro, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Pedro de Orobio, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Francisco de Benavides, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Antonio Ramon, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Pedro Bahamon, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Arteaga, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Antonio de Carvajal, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Francisco Alvarez, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Pedro de Montoya, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Sebastian de Lezana, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Lorenço Martinez, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Ayala, confesor.

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Sacerdotes solamente

El Padre Fray Diego Sanchez, sacerdote;
 El Padre Fray Luis de Vargas, sacerdote;
 El Padre Fray Martin de Urbina, sacerdote;
 El Padre Fray Pedro de Valderrama, sacerdote;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Madrigal, sacerdote;
 El Padre Fray Juan Gallegos, sacerdote;
 El Padre Fray Hernando Martinez, sacerdote;
 El Padre Fray Andres Rodriguez, sacerdote;
 El Padre Fray Andres de Arguello;
 El Padre Fray Luis de Guzman;
 El Padre Fray Juan Boço;
 El Padre Fray Luis de Ormaça;
 El Padre Fray Marcos de Espinosa;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Aspitia;

El Padre Fray Pedro Tostado;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Vega;
 El Padre Fray Antonio Carranço;
 El Padre Fray Felipe Salzedo;
 El Padre Fray Francisco Hernandez;
 El Padre Fray Antonio Duarte;
 El Padre Fray Francisco de Sabar;
 El Padre Fray Geronimo de Tapia;
 El Padre Fray Luis de Sotomayor;
 El Padre Fray Buenaventura de Fuentes;
 El Padre Fray Andres de la Milla;
 El Padre Fray Juan Gonçalez;
 El Padre Fray Alonso de Vega.

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Coristas

Fray Diego Calderon;
 Fray Martin de Fonseca;
 Fray Juan de la Cerda;
 Fray Jose de la Concepcion;
 Fray Diego de Vargas;
 Fray Juan de Verlanga;
 Fray Martin Carrillo;
 Fray Pedro de Orozco;
 Fray Benito de Zevallos;
 Fray Francisco de la Colina;
 Fray Alonso de la Pena;
 Fray Andres del Canpo;
 Fray Francisco de Valdebieso;
 Fray Francisco de Cuellar;
 Fray Alonso de Herrera;
 Fray Juan Malaver;
 Fray Felipe de Saldana;
 Fray Francisco de Mendoça;
 Fray Juan de Aguirre;
 Fray Francisco de la Torre;
 Fray Juan Delgado;
 Fray Alonso Sotelo;
 Fray Juan Nuñez;
 Fray Diego de Salazar;
 Fray Francisco de Aguirre;
 Fray Juan de Figueroa;
 Fray Francisco de los Reyes;
 Fray Antonio Riquejo;
 Fray Lucas de Quenca;
 Fray Rodrigo de Illescas;
 Fray Francisco Gomez;
 Fray Antonio Ortiz.

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Frayles Legos

Fray Andres Corço;
 Fray Pedro Moyano;
 Fray Juan Pacamelo;
 Fray Juan Portero;
 Fray Alonso de la Concepcion;
 Fray Alonso de Santillan;
 Fray Manuel Alvarez;
 Fray Antonio Hernandez;
 Fray Francisco de Ocana;
 Fray Francisco Grados;
 Fray Juan Perez;
 Fray Pedro Salacaz [*sic*];
 Fray Andres Pinero;
 Fray Juan Gonçalez;
 Fray Manuel Griego;
 Fray Diego de la Cruz;
 Fray Juan Ramirez;
 Fray Juan Esteban;
 Fray Francisco de Castilla;
 Fray Melchior de Vera;
 Fray Francisco Buenaventura;
 Fray Alonso Muñoz;
 Fray Francisco Ruiz;
 Fray Cosme Pereyra;
 Fray Juan de Almagro;
 Fray Antonio Morato;
 Fray Bartolome de la Cruz;
 Fray Bernardino Diaz;
 Fray Juan de Medina;
 Fray Francisco de Villa Nueva;
 Fray Marcos de Dueñas;
 Fray Juan de la Cerna;
 Fray Antonio Rodriguez;
 Fray Buenaventura Muñoz;
 Fray Pedro Salvador;
 Fray Melchior de Villoldo;
 Fray Gaspar Ortiz;
 Fray Pedro Ramirez.

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Memoria de los frayles difuntos por quien se ha hecho el oficio en esta dicha provincia de los Doze Apostoles desde el capitulo pasado de 1584 hasta hoy doze de Abril de 1589.

El Padre Fray Juan del Canpo, sacerdote y predicador, murió en el convento de la ciudad de Lima;

El Padre Fray Fabian de San Roman, sacerdote, murió en Lima;

El Padre Fray Juan Bautista, sacerdote, murió en Lima;

El Padre Fray Felipe de Feria, sacerdote, murió en Lima;
 El Padre Fray Francisco Guerra, sacerdote y predicador, a la vuelta de Chile
 yendo desde Arica a Potosí murió en el camino;
 El Padre Fray Juan del Castillo, predicador, murió en la mar viiendo de Castilla;
 El Padre Fray Alonso de Arguello, sacerdote, murió en Pocona;
 El Padre [sic] Fray Cristobal de Atençia, frayle lego, murió en Trujillo;
 El compañero del Padre Fray Juan del Castillo, murió en la mar;
 El Padre Fray Pedro de Porras, sacerdote, murió en Cañete;
 Fray Juan Bautista, lego, murió en el convento de Ica;
 El Padre Fray Alonso de Cespedes, sacerdote y predicador, murió en Lima;
 El Padre Fray Francisco de Santa Olalla, sacerdote, murió en Cajamarca;
 El Padre Fray Geronimo de Loaysa, sacerdote, murió en Lima;
 El Padre Fray Hernando Maxuelo, sacerdote y predicador, murió en el puerto de
 Onduras, siendo provincial, yendo a capítulo general;
 El Padre Fray Francisco de Chavez, sacerdote y predicador, murió en la casa de
 Santa María de Yuai;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Mora, sacerdote, murió en Lima;
 El Padre Fray Gregorio Quixada, sacerdote, murió en Panamá;
 El Padre Fray Antonio de Treviño, sacerdote, murió en Cajamarca;
 Fray Juan de Silva, corista, murió en Lima;
 El Padre Fray Miguel de Aspitia, sacerdote, murió en Lima;
 El Padre Fray Francisco Mendez, sacerdote, murió en Sana;
 El Padre Fray Marcos Jofre, sacerdote y predicador, murió en Lima;
 El Padre Fray Bernardino de Valverde, sacerdote, murió en Jauja.

LA CUSTODIA DE TIERRA FIRME.

La Custodia de Tierra Firme está sujeta a la Provincia de los Doce Apóstoles y
 tiene solamente un convento, el qual es:

El convento de San Francisco de Panamá, que tiene los frayles siguientes:
 El Padre Fray Miguel Delgado, custodio y guardian, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Hernando de Prado, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Chavez, confesor;
 El Padre Fray Rodrigo Buenaventura, confesor;
 Fray Alonso de Avalos, corista;
 Fray Estevan de Neyra, corista;
 Fray Bartolome de Quesada, lego.

LA CUSTODIA DE TUCUMAN Y PARAGUAY.

La Custodia de Tucumán y Paraguay que es toda una, está sujeta a la dicha Pro-
 vincia de los Doce Apóstoles. Hay en ella los conventos y frayles siguientes:

El convento de Santiago de Estero;
 El convento de Esteco;
 El convento de San Miguel de Tucumán;
 El convento de San Francisco de Cordova;

El convento de San Clemente de Salta.

En el Rio del Paraguay hay los siguientes:

El convento de Santa Fee;

El convento de la Asuncion;

El convento de Buenos Ayres.

Todos estos conventos arriba dichos son guardianias y tienen muchas doctrinas de Indios a ellos sujetas.

En la dicha Custodia de Tucuman hay los frayles siguientes:

El Padre Fray Miguel Roman;

El Padre Fray Fulano de la Oliva;

El Padre Fray Alonso Diez;

El Padre Fray Juan Prieto;

El Padre Fray Antonio Jal [*sic*];

El Padre Fray Francisco —;

El Padre Fray Juan de Caravajal [*sic*];

El Padre Fray Francisco Roman;

El Padre Fray Juan;

El Padre Fray Francisco de Aroca;

El Padre Fray Andres Vasquez;

El Padre Fray Diego de la Vera;

El Padre Fray Alonso de la Torre, predicador;

El Padre Fray Alonso de Buenaventura;

El Padre Fray Luis Bolaños;

El Padre Fray Juan Bautista;

El Padre Fray Bartolome de la Cruz;

El Padre Fray Cid;

El Padre Fray Juan Muñoz.

Coristas:

Fray Grabiela [*sic*] de la Anunçiaçion.

Legos:

Fray Francisco de Laguda;

Fray Juan —;

Fray Juan Loçano;

Fray Bernardo —;

Los Frayles Difuntos de la Dicha Custodia:

Sacerdotes:

El Padre Fray Martin de Vergara;

El Padre Fray Geronimo de Avila;

El Padre Fray Diego Laguna;

El Padre Fray Francisco de Ocanpo;

El Padre Fray Baltasar de San Miguel;

El Padre Fray Francisco Moreno;

El Padre Fray Xines Hernandez.

Legos:

Fray Salvador;
Fray Martin de Udalcazar.

Esta Custodia se puede hacer provincia proveyendola de frayles, porque son dos Reynos, Tucuman y el Paraguay, y es tierra larga y bastecida y estando sujeta a esta provincia esta muy lejos y no se puede acudir bien al governo della.

LA PROVINCIA DE LA SANTISIMA TRINIDAD DE CHILE.

En la Provincia de la Santasima Trinidad de Chile hay los conventos y frayles siguientes:

El Convento de Santiago, Nuestra Señora del Socorro;
El convento de la Serena Coquimbo;
El convento de la Concepcion;
El convento de Angol;
El convento de la Imperial;
El convento de la Villa Rica;
El convento de Osorno;
El convento de Valdivia;
El convento de San Francisco del Monte;
En Osorno hay un convento de monjas, el convento se llama Santa Ysabel, hay ocho monjas.

Frayles Sacerdotes, Confesores y Predicadores:

El Padre Fray Cristobal de Rabañera;
El Padre Fray Francisco Montalvo;
El Padre Fray Pedro de Agreda;
El Padre Fray Pedro de Vergara;
El Padre Fray Gregorio Navarro;
El Padre Fray de Olmos [*sic*].

Confesores solamente:

El Padre Fray Juan de Torralva;
El Padre Fray Juan de la Torre;
El Padre Fray Domingo de Villegas;
El Padre Fray Andres Morera;
El Padre Fray Francisco Hernandez;
El Padre Fray Francisco Cardenete;
El Padre Fray Miguel Roca;
El Padre Fray Geronimo de la Peña;
El Padre Fray Juan Pos [?] tene;
El Padre Fray Juan de Medina;
El Padre Fray Francisco Gadea;
El Padre Fray Pedro Hernandez;
El Padre Fray Francisco Vasquez;
El Padre Fray Pedro de Agreda;
El Padre Fray Antonio de Slisonso [*sic*];

El Padre Fray Pedro de Gargansiel;
 El Padre Fray Antonio Arauxo;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Pedroche;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Aguilu Fuen [*sic*];
 El Padre Fray Juan García.

Sacerdotes solamente:

El Padre Fray Juan de Consuegra;
 El Padre Fray Juan Barbero;
 El Padre Fray Antonio Biven;
 El Padre Fray Xines de Quenca;
 El Padre Fray Miguel Simon;
 El Padre Fray Grabiel [*sic*];
 El Padre Fray Juan de Aguilar;
 El Padre Fray Geronimo de Herrera;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Vera;
 El Padre Fray Gregorio de Mercado.

Coristas:

Hay cinco coristas.

Legos:

Fray Jorge;
 Fray Juan Marin;
 Fray Francisco de Jesus;
 Fray Pedro Guerrero;
 Fray Juan de la Concepcion;
 Fray Pablo Corço;
 Fray Cristobal Sanchez;
 Fray Antonio Nuñez.

LA PROVINCIA DE SAN FRANCISCO DE QUITO.

En la Provincia de San Francisco de Quito hay los conventos y frayles siguientes.

Sacerdotes, Predicadores y Confesores:

El Padre Fray Diego Malo de Molina;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Santiago;
 El Padre Fray Juan Gallegos;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Porras;
 El Padre Fray Antonio Maldonado;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Vergara;
 El Padre Fray Juan Hidalgo;
 El Padre Fray Cristobal Martinez;
 El Padre Fray Diego Bonifaz;
 El Padre Fray Hernando Rodriguez;
 El Padre Fray Alonso de Salazar;
 El Padre Fray Alonso de Leon;

El Padre Fray Bernardino de Salazar;
El Padre Fray Cristobal de Salazar;
El Padre Fray Francisco de Paz.

Confesores solamente:

El Padre Fray Antonio de la Cruz;
El Padre Fray Bartolome Andino;
El Padre Fray Juan de Cañeres;
El Padre Fray Juan de Paz;
El Padre Fray Juan Muñoz;
El Padre Fray Juan Pamo [*sic*];
El Padre Fray Diego de Lara;
El Padre Fray Juan de Buenaventura Gonçaga;
El Padre Fray Alonso de Peral;
El Padre Fray Diego de Miranda;
El Padre Fray Benito de las Posadas;
El Padre Fray Francisco de Andrade;
El Padre Fray Geronimo Picon;
El Padre Fray Francisco de Oropesa;
El Padre Fray Francisco Cabeças;
El Padre Fray Juan de Humana;
El Padre Fray Antonio Martin;
El Padre Fray Gaspar de Sayavedra;
El Padre Fray Melchior de Pereyra;
El Padre Fray Juan Marques;
El Padre Fray Juan de Castro;
El Padre Fray Francisco Talavera;
El Padre Fray Pedro Arias;
El Padre Fray Bartolome de Tordesillas;
El Padre Fray Cristobal Moreno;
El Padre Fray Martin del Puerto;
El Padre Fray Juan Ximenez;
El Padre Fray Lazaro de Santofimia;
El Padre Fray Francisco de Andrade;
El Padre Fray Esteban de la Peña;
El Padre Fray Juan Dominguez.

Sacerdotes solamente:

El Padre Fray Francisco de Olmos;
El Padre Fray Pedro Ximenez;
El Padre Fray Lucas Hernandez;
El Padre Fray Pablo de Hinojosa;
El Padre Fray Juan Ramirez;
El Padre Fray Esteban Gutierrez;
El Padre Fray Juan de la Concepcion;
El Padre Fray Buenaventura de Sayavedra;
El Padre Fray Alonso de Alcocer;
El Padre Fray Alonso Diaz;
El Padre Fray Francisco Hernandez;

El Padre Fray Antonio Alvares;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Nava;
 El Padre Fray Diego de Garfial [*sic*];
 El Padre Fray Francisco Rabelo;
 El Padre Fray Diego de Osorio;
 El Padre Fray Simon Correa;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Castro;
 El Padre Fray Miguel Romero;
 El Padre Fray Geronimo de Portillo;
 El Padre Fray Diego Vidal;
 El Padre Fray Francisco de Olmos;
 El Padre Fray Martin de Nevrea [*sic*];
 El Padre Fray Geronimo Barrientos.

Coristas:

Hay diez o doze coristas.

Legos:

Fray Pedro de Peñaranda;
 Fray Juan Esteban;
 Fray Antonio Valladares;
 Fray Francisco de los Reyes;
 Fray Pedro de la Concepción;
 Fray Antonio Maldonado;
 Fray Juan Gonçalez.

Los conventos y guardianias de la Provincia de Quito:

El convento de San Pablo de Quito;
 El convento de San Antonio de Pasto;
 El convento de San Francisco de Quenca;
 El convento de San Jose de Loxa;
 El convento de San Bernardino de Popayan;
 El convento de San Luis de Malaguer;
 El convento de la Concepción de Latacunga;
 El convento de Guano;
 El convento de San Luis de Otavalo;
 El convento de Santa Clara de Pomasqui.

Vicarias y Doctrinas de Indios:

La doctrina y Colegio de San Andres;
 La doctrina de San Juan Bautista al Cotacollao;
 La doctrina de San Miguel de Perucho;
 La doctrina de la Magdalena de Calacali;
 La doctrina de San Pedro de Tangua;
 La doctrina de la Magdalena de Yaguangui;
 La doctrina de San Luis de Paussi;
 La doctrina de Santiago de Gualasco;
 La doctrina de San Lucas de los Cacunucos;
 La doctrina de San Antonio de los Chisquios;

La doctrina de San Bartolome de Tinbiobito;
 La doctrina de San Bartolome de Pançotara;
 La doctrina de San Buenaventura de Guachicono;
 La doctrina de San Juan Bautista de Saquisili;
 La doctrina de San Francisco de Mulahalo;
 La doctrina de San Buenaventura de Pugili;
 La doctrina de San Antonio de los Alaques;
 La doctrina de San Miguel de Rio Halo[?];
 La doctrina de Santa Maria de los Angeles de Carangue;
 La doctrina de Santa Marta de Tontaqui;
 La doctrina de Santa Ana de Catacache;
 La doctrina de San Pablo de la Laguna;
 La doctrina de San Miguel de Orioqui;
 La doctrina de San Andres de Donsi;
 La doctrina de San Francisco del Monte de Pinepe;
 La doctrina de San Lucas de Ylapo;
 La doctrina de San Pablo de Lito;
 La doctrina de Santa Ysabel de Puni;
 La doctrina de San Antonio de Carangue;
 La doctrina de Santiago de Quinia;
 La doctrina de San Miguel de Pungala;
 La doctrina *[sic]*.

Monjas.

En la cuidad de Quito hay un convento de Monjas de la Linpia Concepcion, sujeto a la horden. Havra en el trienta monjas.

LA PROVINCIA DE SANTA FEE DE NUEVO REYNO DE GRANADA.

En la Provincia de Santa Fee de Nuevo Reyno de Granada hay los conventos, doctrinas y frayles siguientes.

Guardianias:

El convento de la Purificación de Santa Fee;
 El convento de Santa Maria Madalena de Tunja;
 El convento de San Luis de Veles;
 El convento de San Francisco de Aserma;
 El convento de San Francisco de la Palma;
 El convento de la Santisima Trinidad de Muso;
 El convento de San Francisco de Marequita;
 El convento de San Francisco de Cartago;
 El convento de Cartajena;
 El convento de San Francisco de Monpox;
 El convento de San Francisco de Ocaña;
 El convento de San Francisco de la Grita;
 El convento de San Francisco de Pamplona.

Vicarias y Doctrinas:

La doctrina Boça;
La doctrina de Chia;
La doctrina de Obate;
La doctrina de Macheta;
La doctrina de Nemoco;
La doctrina de Zipaquirá;
La doctrina de Pacatánbo;
La doctrina de Cogua;
La doctrina de Osaquen;
La doctrina de Toya;
La doctrina de Tibasosa;
La doctrina de Socota;
La doctrina de Iguaquí;
La doctrina de Icabuco;
La doctrina de Busbánco;
La doctrina de Motabita;
La doctrina de Taiguaquira;
La doctrina de Tiquisa;
La doctrina de Firabitoba;
La doctrina de Topia;
La doctrina de Chitagote;

Sacerdotes, Predicadores y Confesores:

El Padre Fray Francisco Céron;
El Padre Fray Cristóbal Jurado;
El Padre Fray Pedro de Valençia;
El Padre Fray Luis de Cañete;
El Padre Fray Alonso Polanco;
El Padre Fray Antonio de Santa María.

Confesores solamente:

El Padre Fray Francisco de Galicia;
El Padre Fray Alonso de Mirueña;
El Padre Fray Bartolomé de Ulloa;
El Padre Fray Hernando de Aldana;
El Padre Fray Andres de Sananio;
El Padre Fray Alonso de Vilches;
El Padre Fray Geronimo de Montemayor;
El Padre Fray Antonio de Alcantara;
El Padre Fray Antonio Ximenez;
El Padre Fray Antonio Moyano;
El Padre Fray Gaspar de Puerto Alegre;
El Padre Fray Vicente Rodriguez;
El Padre Fray Lorenço de Segura;
El Padre Fray Antonio de Santa María;
El Padre Fray Juan Baquero;
El Padre Fray Sebastian de Garibai;

El Padre Fray Cristobal Jurado;
 El Padre Fray Juan de la Concepcion;
 El Padre Fray Nieto;
 El Padre Fray Alonso Delgado;
 El Padre Fray Molina;
 El Padre Fray Sanchez;
 El Padre Fray Pabia;
 El Padre Fray Geronimo de Ocaña;
 El Padre Fray Mena;
 El Padre Fray Cabeça de Buey.

Sacerdotes solamente:

El Padre Fray Bernardino de Olalla;
 El Padre Fray Blas Redondo;
 El Padre Fray Francisco Bernardez;
 El Padre Fray Ortejuela;
 El Padre Fray Damian de Castro;
 El Padre Fray Acuña;
 El Padre Fray Salas;
 El Padre Fray Bernardez;
 El Padre Fray Lorenço Duran;
 El Padre Fray Pedro Lopez;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Canizares;
 El Padre Fray Juan Manuel;
 El Padre Fray Juan de Bonilla;
 El Padre Fray Mirdaco;
 El Padre Fray Bartolome de Ribera.

Coristas:

Hay diez o doze cortistas.

Legos:

Fray Juan de Pesquera;
 y otros diez o doze legos.

Los lugares adonde se pueden fundar conventos para que la custodia de Tierra Firme de Panama se haga provincia, son los siguientes:

Tolu puede aver cassa que es cerca de Cartajena y para mejor açertar la cassa que esta en Monpox ponerla en Tolu.

Edificar otro convento en Çaragoça en Caçeres por que se va por Cauca arriba a la boga sale al rio grande de la Magdalena que es abajo de Monpox.

Tomar la casa de Ocaña que hay poco de navegacion de Monpox.

Podrarse hazer convento en Santa Fee de Antiocha al qual se va por Cauca.

Puede se hazer conventos en el valle de Upar y en Santa Marta en el Rio de la Hacha; la qual es jurisdicion del opbispo de Santa Marta, el qual tubo dado licencia al Padre Fray Pedro de Açuaga siendo provincial para edificar en todo su obispado.

Mas la casa de Cartajena.

Mas se puede edificar en Nombre de Dios un convento que es a donde llegan las flotas de España.

Mas la casa de Panama que es agora custodia.

Mas en Nata se puede edificar otra cassa.

Mas en la ysla de Jamayca amenudo con Cartajena y hay mucho trato van y vienen cada dia fragatas y ni ay mas de duzentas leguas y sera quitar muchos apostatas que hay alli de contino.

Las causas que hay paraque esta provincia se haga son las siguientes:

La primera, que como dize junto a Panama con Cartajena sera una buena provinçia;

La segunda, no puede el provincial de este reyno governar la costa a la qual ha de bajar por el Rio grande de la Magdalena duzentas leguas y esto con mucho riesgo peligro y costa y por su ausencia con la libertad de la tierra suele aver muchos daños y faltando de la costa a donde hay mas libertad, los hay mayores.

La tercera razon es que siendo provinçia Cartajena y Panama y estos lugares dichos poblados con la presencia del provincial se recojeran gran multitud de frayles perdidos como andan por los lugares dichos y asi no se pueden remediar por ninguna via sino por esta, como suele suceder en muchos lugares del rio grande, en Çaragoça, en Cäceres, en Antiocha, en Tolu, en Santa Marta y la Ramada y el Rio de la Hacha donde suelen morir de viejos sin poder los recojer.

La quarta razon es que faltando el Guardian de Cartajena y de Monpox quando suben a los capitulos al Reyno y se tardan tanto en bajar y subir y por la mayor parte los frayles que andan son vivos [?] y facinerosos; hay muchos daños para los exemplos.

Y siendo provinçia podrasse mejor governar y remediar y cobrar estos daños y ofensas de nuestro Señor y asi mesmo se evitaria la causa de muchos que vienen con deseo de juntar oro y plata no lo hiziesen con tanta daño suyo y de la orden y quitarseles y en otras libertades porque andan muchos religiosos por los lugares dichos de la costa y no hay poder recojerlos.

Y porque en el tiempo de Abril y Mayo se puede ir con los vendavales [sic] en breve tiempo al Tucuyo desde Cartajena y en Noviembre y Diziembre que son las brisas se puede venir de alla a Cartajena en breve tiempo y desde Cartajena se va a Ocaña por el rio grande de la Magdalena en pocos dias y desde Ocaña se va por tierra a Trujillo que es la primera casa de la provincia de Velençuela o Tucuyo o Caracas que es una misma cosa y tanbien se podra juntar Velençuela con Cartajena, pero hay la misma dificultad que en el Reyno por la ausencia del provincial.

Esta provincia de Velençuela, Tucuyo o Caracas, Varquicinito y otros muchos pueblos que hay es muy buena provincia y de mucha tierra y buena para frayles y muy santa y lo que ha menester esta provincia es quitar todos los frayles fugitivos y valientes y poblar de buenos religiosos. Y lo tercero que conviene no este sujeta al governo de la Nueva España porque es mucha la distancia de mares y no se puede acudir con los negocios alla y estubo sujeta por el Padre Villacarrillo a estos Reynos del Piru y por su orden tubo capitulo en ella el Padre Fray Pedro de Azuaga y para esto es necesario que se partan estas provincias en dos comisiones el Reyno de Cartajena, Quito y el Tucuyo en una y lo de arriba en otra porque del Reyno

al Tucuyo no hay mas de duzentas leguas de Santa Fee y camino andadero y mucha gente seguido.

Toda esta razon y descripcion de aquestas provincias y custodias que hay en estas partes he dado a Vuestra Paternidad Reverendisima para hazer lo que tengo obligacion y para que ateste a Vuestra Paternidad Reverendisima la neçesidad que hay de religiosos tales quales edifiquen y aprovechen y haya muchos en ellas en cantidad y en calidad pues parece [sic] claro los pocos que hay que todo el numero referido es poco para una provincia quanto mas para tantas y para que Vuestra Paternidad Reverendisima remedie todo lo demas que viere convenir.

APPENDIX IV

Primições del Peru en Santidad, Letras, Armas, Govierno, y Nobleça*



L REY NUESTRO SEÑOR PHELIPE QUARTO, el Grande, en su Real Consejo de las Indias.

Por mano de Nuestro Reverendissimo Padre Predicador Fray Joseph Maldonado del orden de Nuestro Serafico Padre San Francisco, natural de Quito, Comisario Generalissimo de todas ellas en la Corte del Rey, Nuestro Señor.

Escribiale Fray Balthasar de Bustamante del mismo orden, Natural de Lima, Predicador Mayor del Convento de la misma Ciudad de Lima.

Año de 1640.

SUJETOS EN SANTIDAD Y VIRTUD.

Rosa de Santa Maria	Tercera de Santo Domingo	de Lima
Fray Francisco Martinez	de San Francisco	de Cañete
Fray Pedro Bedon	de Santo Domingo	de Riobamba
Fray Bernardo Bohorques	de la Merced	de Quito
Padre Pedro de Añasco	de la Compañia	de Chachapoyas
Licenciado Juan Rodriguez	clericgo sacerdote	del Cuzco
Doña Ana Manrique de Guebara	tercera de San Francisco [?]	de Lima
Fray Andres de Orozco	de San Francisco	de Trujillo
Hermano Pedro de Vidamuia	de la Compañia	de Lima
Don Juan Arias de Avila	criado seglar	de Huanuco
Geronima de San Franciscos	monja descalça	de Lima
Estefania de San Francisco	tercera de penitencia, mulata	de Lima

ARZOBISPOS

D. Fernando Arias de Ugarte	del Reyno	Arzobispo de Lima
D. Feliciano de Vega	de Lima	Arzobispo de Mexico
D. Bernardino de Almanza	de Jauja	Arzobispo del Reyno
D. Alonso de Peralta	de Arequipa	Arzobispo de los Charcas
D. Fray Domingo de Balderrama	de Quito	Arzobispo de Santo Domingo

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OBISPOS

D. Fernando Trejo	del Paraguay	Obispo de Tucuman
D. Fray Diego Altamirano	de Lima	Obispo de Cartajena
D. Fray Salvador de Ribera	de Lima	Obispo de Quito
D. Fray Agustin de Vega	de Lima	Obispo electo de Paraguay
D. Fray Gabriel de Zarate	de Lima	Obispo electo de Huamanga
D. Fray Francisco de la Serna	de Huanuco	Obispo de Chuquiabó
D. Fray Luis Jeronimo de Ore	de Huamanga	Obispo de la Imperial
D. Pedro de Valenzia	de Lima	Obispo de Chuquiabó
D. Carlos Marcelo Corni	de Trujillo	Obispo de Trujillo
D. Juan de la Rosa	de Panama	Obispo de Popayán
D. Diego Ramirez de Cepeda	de Lima	Obispo de Cartajena
D. Fray Balthasar de los Angeles	de Lima	Obispo electo, no acepto
D. Pedro de Vega Sarmiento	de Lima	Obispo de Guatemala
D. Fray Luis Diez de Almendariz	del Reyno	Obispo de Tarragona, Urgel y Xaca
D. Fray Gonzalo de Ovalie	de Panama	Obispo de Guadalajara
D. Juan de Bastidas	de Santo Domingo	Obispo de Puerto Rico
D. Fray Gaspar de Villaroel	de Quito	Obispo de Chile
D. Fray Balthasar Maldonado	de Santa Marta	Obispo de Tucuman
D. Fray Bernardino de Cárdenas	de Chuquiabó	Obispo del Paraguay
D. Fray Christoval de Mancha	de Lima	Obispo del Rio de la Plata
D. Fray Juan de Espinar	de Lima	Obispo de Santa Marta
D. Fray Alonso Brizeño	de Chile	Obispo de Nicaragua
D. Pedro de Ortega Sotomayor	de Lima	Obispo de Trujillo

TITULOS

Raymundo de Orozco	de Chuquisaca	Marques de Mortara
D. Lope Diez de Almendariz	del Reyno	marques de Cadererta
D. Francisco Yraçabal y Andia	de Chile	marques de Valparaiso y Vizconde de Santa Clara
Doña Ana Maria de Loiola	de Chile	marquesa de Oropesa
D. Francisco Fausto de Bovadilla	de Lambayeque	marques de San Martin, hijo del Conde de Chinchon
D. Garcia de Alvarado y V ^{co}	de Chuquiabó	Conde de Billamayor
D. Juan Enriquez de Borja	de Lima	Marques de Oropessa
D. Fernando Berrio	de Tunja	marques
D. Francisco Lopez de Zuñiga	de Lima	Conde de la Pedrosa, hijo del marques de
D. Agustin Sarmiento	de Cartajena	Bizconde de Portillo
D. Juan de Araçabal y Andia	de Chile	Bizconde de Santa Clara
D. Pedro Alfonso Flores	de Lima	Bizconde de Peñaparda de flores
Doña Beatriz de Salaçar	de Castro Virreyna	Marquesa de Motzuma
Doña de Salazar	de Panama	Condesa de Lorenzana

VIRREYES

D. Lope Diez de Almen-dariz	del Reyno	Virrey de Mexico
D. Francisco de Iraçabal y Andia	de Chile	Virrey de Navarra

CONSEJEROS EN LOS SUPREMOS

D. Diego de Cuenca y Contreras	de Lima	Del Supremo de Castilla
Licenciado Luis Pardo de Lago	de Santa Fe	del Supremo de hacienda
Licenciado D. Diego de Altamirano	de Huanuco	del Supremo de Castilla
Licenciado D. Diego de Mendieta	de Lima	del Supremo de Santa Clara de Napolis

CONSEJEROS DE ESPAÑA

Licenciado Rioja	de Santa Fe	Oidor de Granada
D. Juan de Salas y Valdes	del Cuzco	Oidor de Valladolid
D. Rodrigo de Santillan	de los Charcas	Alcalde de Corte de Valladolid
D. Pedro de Santillan, su hijo	de los Charcas	Oidor de Valladolid

VARONES ILUSTRES EN PUESTOS Y DIGNIDADES

Nuestro Reverendissimo Padre Fray Joseph Maldonado	de Quito	Comisario General de las Indias
Fray Mauro de Santa Fe, capuchino	de Santa Fe	Provincial de los Capuchinos
Fray Balthasar de los Angeles	de Lima	Confesor de la Serenissima Infanta Doña Margarita
Fray Diego Altamirano	de Lima	Comisario General del Peru
Fray D. Joseph de Utrubia [?]	de Lima	

PREDICADORES DEL REY

Fray Balthasar de los Angeles	de Lima	Predicador del Rey
Fray Mauro de Santa Fe, capuchino	del Reyno	predicador del Rey
Fray Pedro de Tebar	de Lima	predicador del Rey

INQUISIDORES Y FISCALES DEL SANTO OFICIO

Don Bernardino de Almansa	de Lima	Inquisidor de Logroño y Toledo
Doctor Marcos Bohorques	del Reyno	Inquisidor de Mexico
D. Juan de Espina y Velasco [?]	de Lima	Inquisidor de Cerdeña y Fiscal de Valladolid [?]
D. Luis de Ventacru y Figueroa	de Tunja	Inquisidor de Lima

CHANCILLERIAS DE LAS INDIAS

D. Alonso Bravo de Saravia	de Lima	Alcalde de Corte de Lima
D. Fernando Arias de Ugarte	del Reyno	Oidor de Lima
D. Matias de Peralta	de Arequipa	Alcalde de Corte de Mexico
D. Jorge Manrique de Lara	de Lima	Oidor de los Charcas
D. Luis de Quinones	de Lima	Oidor de Quito
D. Francisco de Sossa	de Lima	Oidor de los Charcas
D. Juan de Padilla	de la Nasca	Alcalde de Corte de Lima
Licenciado Juan Ortiz de Cervantes	de Lima	Oidor del Reyno
D. Simon de Meneses	de Lima	Oidor de la Isla Espanola
Licenciado Andres Pardo de Lago	de Santa Fe	Oidor de Guadalajara
D. Diego Medrano	de Sto. Domingo	Oidor de Santo Domingo
D. Juan de Balderrama	de Lima	Oidor de Philipinas
Licenciado Balderrama, su hermano	de Lima	Oidor de Mexico
D. Juan de Quesada	de Sto. Domingo	Fiscal de Philipinas
D. Juan de la Reynaga	de Lima	Oidor de Panama
D. Pedro Machado de Chaves	de Quito	Fiscal de Chile
D. Fernando Castilla[?]	de Santo Domingo	Fiscal de Guatemala
Cabeza de Vaca	de Lima	Oidor de los Charcas
D. Sebastian de Alcozer	del Reyno	Oidor de Lima
D. Andres de Villela	de Lima	Oidor de Panama y Charcas
D. Andres Garavito de Leon	de Huancavelica	Oidor de Panama
D. Sebastian de Sandoval	de Lima	Fiscal de Mexico
D. Diego Mesra de Zuñiga	de Lima	Oidor de Guatemala
Doctor Gutierrez Velazquez	de Tunja	Oidor del Reyno
D. Bernardino Beltran de Guevara	de Lima	Fiscal de los Charcas
Doctor Francisco Ramos Galvan	de Lima	Oidor de Guatemala
D. Gaspar de Zuñiga	de Santo Domingo	Oidor de Chile
D. Pedro de Lugo	de Chuquisaca	Oidor de Panama
D. Juan de la Gasca	de Potosi	Oidor de Panama
D. Juan de Otalora	de Lima	Alcalde de Corte de Mexico
D. Francisco Manrique de Lara	de Lima	Oidor de Panama
D. Diego de Orozco	de Lima	Oidor de Chile
D. Nicolas Polanco	de Lima	Fiscal [?] de Lima
D. Francisco de Valençuela	de Chile	Oidor de Philipinas
D. Diego Ribera Maldonado	de Pasto	Fiscal de Guadalajara
D. Juan de Castro	de Loja	Oidor de Chuquisaca
D. Luis Merlo	de Chile	Fiscal de Lima
D. Agustin de Medina	de Lima	Oidor de Lima
D. Luis de Lomas	de	

ESCRITORES, THEOLOGOS Y ESCRITURISTAS

Theologia y Artes, Maestro	Fray Geronimo de Valera	de Chachapoyas	de San Francisco
Theologia, Maestro	Padre Juan Perez Menacho	de Lima	de la Compania
Theologia	Fray Alonso Brizeño	de Chile	de San Francisco
Escritura	Fray Gaspar de Villaruel	de Quito	de San Agustin
Escritura	Fray Diego de Vega	de Huanuco	de San Francisco
Escritura	Fray Pedro de Tebar	de Lima	de San Francisco
Escritura, Maestro	Fray Bernardino de Cardenas	de Chuquiabó	de San Francisco

Escritura	Fray Francisco de Oviedo	de Lima	de la Merced
Escritura	Fray Luis Angel Florenzio	de Lima	Cartujo
Escritura	Fray Gabriel de Zarate	de Lima	de Santo Domingo
Escritura	Fray Juan de Ribera	de Cañete	de San Agustin
Escritura	Fray Bartolome Vadillo	del Tucuman	de San Agustin
Escritura	Fray Juan de Zarate	de Lima	de Santo Domingo
Theologia y Artes, Maestro	Fray Buenaventura de Salinas	de Lima	de San Francisco
Theologia, Maestro	Fray Hernando de Valverde	de Lima	de San Agustin
Escritura	Fray Jeronimo Manrique	de Lima	de San Francisco
Escritura, Maestro	Fray Diego Trevijo	de Lima	de San Francisco
Theologia y Artes, Maestro	Padre Alonso de Peñafiel	de Guayaquil	de la Compañia
Metaphysica, Maestro	Fray Gonzalo Tenorio	de Chachapoyas	de San Francisco
Escritura, Maestro	Fray Jeronimo de Acuña	de Huanuco	de San Francisco
Escritura, Maestro	Fray Hernando Davalos	de Lima	de Santo Domingo
Escritura, Maestro	Fray Balthasar de Bustamante	de Lima	de San Francisco

[The original has the letters MS before some names. They have been transcribed as *Maestro*.]

ESCRITORES EN LOS DERECHOS

Doctor D. Feliciano de Vega	de Lima	Clerigo, Arzobispo de Mexico
Fray Jeronimo de Valera	de Chachapoyas	de San Francisco
Fray Miguel de Ribera	de Lima	de San Francisco
Doctor Gutierrez Velazquez, Maestro	de Lima	Oidor de Guatemala
D. Sebastian de Sandoval	de Huancavelica	Oidor de Panama
D. Andres Garavito de Leon	de Lima	Oidor de Panama
D. Juan Bautista de la Gasca	de Chuquisaca	Oidor de Panama
D. Diego Altamirano	de Huanuco	del Supremo de Castilla
D. Juan de la Reynaga	de Lima	Oidor de Panama
D. Luis de Ventacruz y Figueroa	de Tunja	Inquisidor de Lima
Licenciado Juan Ortiz de Cervantes	de Lima	Oidor del Reyno
D. Pedro de Pardo y Escobar	de Trujillo	Dean de Huamanga
D. Bernardino de Almansa	de Jauja	Arzobispo del Reyno
D. Matias Guerra de	de Panama	Cathedralico de Prima[?]
D. Diego Ramirez de Cepeda	de Lima	de Sevilla
D. Luis Biochero [or cheio]	del Reyno	Freile de Santiago y Obispo de Cartajena
Doctor Gregorio Juin	de Lima	Abogado en Sevilla
D. Gaspar de Escalona, Maestro	de Chuquisaca	Canonigo de Trujillo
D. Juan Blasquez de Valverde	de Huanuco	Corregidor de Jauja
		Cathedralico de Lima

HISTORIADORES, POETAS, LENGUAS Y OTRAS FACULTADES

Historia	Garcilaso Inca	del Cuzco	Seglar
Historia	Padre Blas Valera, Maestro	de Chachapoyas	de la Compañía
Historia y Lengua	Fray Luis Jeronimo de Ore	de Huamanga	de San Francisco
Historia	Fray Alonso Ramos Gavilan	de Lima	de San Agustin
Historia	Fray Buenaventura de Salinas	de Lima	de San Francisco
Historia	Fray Diego de Cordoba	de Lima	de San Francisco
Historia	Fray Antonio de la Calancha	de Chuquisaca	de San Agustin
Historia	D. Luis Biochero	del Reyno	Cathedralico en Salamanca
Historia	D. Bernardino Bel- tran de Guevara	de Tunja	Oidor del Reyno
Historia	Fray Pedro Betanzos	de Santa Fe	de San Francisco
Historia	D. Francisco Fernan- dez de Cordova, Maestro	de Huanuco	Abogado en Lima
Historia	Fray Pedro de Loaysa, Maestro	de Pasto	de Santo Domingo
Poesia	Licenciado Pedro de Oña	de Chile—Angol	Seglar
Poesia	D. Ipolito de Olivares	de Lima	Seglar
Poesia	Fray Juan de Aillon	de Lima	de San Francisco
Poesia	D. Martin de Oquendo, Maestro	del Reyno	Seglar
Poesia	D. Francisco de San Pedro	de Lima	Seglar
Poesia	D. Lope de Figueroa	de Potosi	Seglar
Poesia	Fray Adriano Alesio, Maestro	de Lima	de Santo Domingo
Poesia	Licenciado Castel- lanos	de Tunja [another hand: de Andalusia]	clerigo
Poesia	Licenciado Diego Cano Gutierrez	de Lima	clerigo
Historia	Diego Perez de Porras	de Lima	secretario del Principe del Esquilache
Historia	Fray Adrian de Santo Thomas, Maestro	de Arequipa	de Santo Domingo
Historia	Fray Jeronimo Jimenez Maestro	de Lima	de San Francisco
Historia	Fray Alonso de Al- meida, Maestro	de Chuquisaca	de San Agustin
Poesia	Fray Hernando de Valverde	de Lima	de San Agustin
Cirujia	Licenciado Pedro Lopez de Leon	de Panama	Seglar
Lengua Quechua	Fray Diego de Olmos	del Cuzco	de San Francisco
Lengua Quechua	Fray Bernardino de Lugo	del Nuevo Reyno	de Santo Domingo
Lengua Quechua	D. Alonso de Guerta	de Huanuco	cathedralico de ella en Lima
Arte y Sintaxis	Doctor Pedro de Reyna	de Lima	canonigo de Trujillo
Latino et [?]	Padre Pedro Feliz de Molina	de Santa Cruz	de la Compañía
Lengua, MS [?]	Bachiller Juan Gal- legos Aparicio	de Piura	vicario de alli

Respuesta de Arbitrios Historia Lengua Historia Historia	Fray Cristoval de Mancla Padre Alonso de Sandoval Fray Pedro de Alayas Fray Balthasar de Bustamante, Maestro Fray Alonso de Mendieta	de Lima de Panama de Ica de Lima de Lima	de Santo Domingo de la Compania de San Agustin de San Francisco de San Francisco
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CATEDRATICOS EN SALAMANCA, ALCALA Y SEVILLA.

[The original in place of *catedraticos*, *catedral*, uses *cathredaticos* or *cathedaticos* and *cathredal*.]

D. Francisco de la Cueva	de Lima	Rector de Salamanca
Fray Buenaventura de Salinas	de Lima	Regente de San Francisco de Napoles
D. Andres de Villela	del Reyno	Cathedralico de derecho en Salamanca
D. Matias Guerra de la Cruz	de Panama	de Prima de derecho en [?]
D. Pedro de Tello Soto-mayor	de Huanuco	Rector de Salamanca
D. Juan de Cabrera	de Lima	Interino [?] de theologia en Salamanca
Doctor D. Francisco Calvo de Sandoval	de Lima	Interino [?] de theologia en Salamanca
D. Luis de Mendoza	de	
D. Andres de V* feliz	de	

CATEDRATICOS CLERIGOS DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE LIMA

Doctor Carlos Marcello	de Lima	
Doctor Pedro de Ortega Sotomayor	de Lima	de Prima de theologia
Doctor D. Francisco Godoi	de Chile	de Artes
Doctor D. Juan Velasquez	de Lima	
Doctor D. Diego de Avila Brizeño	de Lima	
Doctor Feliciano de Vega	de Lima	de Prima de canones
Doctor Juan Vitado de Vera	de Panama	
Maestro Alonso de Abreu	de Trujillo	
Maestro Juan de Obregon	de Lima	
Doctor Diego Ramirez	de Potosi	de Artes
Doctor Fernando de Avendaño	de Lima	de Theologia y Artes
Maestro Gabriel de Sandi	de Ica	de Artes
Maestro Manuel de Esquivel	de Lima	de Artes
Doctor D. Diego de Enzinas	de Imeque [sic]	de Artes
Maestro D. Gregorio de Tenorio	de Chachapoyas	de Artes
Doctor D. Gaspar Centurion Spinola	de Lima	de Artes
Doctor Diego de Vergara	de Lima	de Artes
Doctor D. Sancha [sic] Pardo de Cardenas	de Lima	de Artes
Doctor D. Juan de Montalvo	de Lima	de Artes
Doctor Ocerin	del Callao	de Artes
Doctor Mexia	de Pisco	de Artes

CATEDRATICOS RELIGIOSOS EN LA UNIVERSIDAD

Padre sapientissimo Juan Perez Menacho, de la Compañia	de Lima	de Prima de Theologia
Padre Maestro Fray Luis de Bilbao, dominico	de Lima	de Prima de Theologia
Padre Maestro Fray Diego Perez, agustino	de Panama	de Escriptura
Padre Maestro Fray Lucas de Mendoza, agustino	de Paraguay	de Escriptura
Padre Maestro Fray Juan de Aquinas, dominico	de Lima	de Vesperas
Padre Maestro Fray Cristoval de Narvaez, dominico	de Lima	de Vesperas
Padre Maestro Fray Salvador de Rivera, dominico	de Lima	
Padre Maestro Fray Francisco de la Serna, agustino	de Huanuco	de Vesperas
Padre Francisco de Contreras, de la Compañia	de Chuquiabó	
Padre Maestro Fray Benito Rondon, dominico	de Panama	de Vesperas interino
Padre Maestro Fray Juan de Ribera, agustino	de Cañete	de Vesperas
Padre Maestro Fray Francisco de la Carrera, de la Merced	de Lima	de Nona
Padre Maestro Fray Cipriano de Medina, dominico	de Lima	de Theologia Moral
Padre Maestro Fray Francisco de Guerta, dominico	de Trujillo	de Theologia Moral interino
Padre Maestro Fray Antonio de Amuzco, dominico	de Panama	
Padre Maestro Fray Bartolome Badillo, agustino	de Tucuman	

CATEDRATICOS DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE LA LENGUA

Doctor D. Juan de Balboa, primer doctor criollo	de Lima
Doctor Alonso de Guerta	de Huanuco
Doctor D. Alonso Corvacho	de Chuquisaca

CATEDRATICOS SEGLARES DE LA UNIVERSIDAD EN DERECHOS

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Doctor Francisco Ramos Galvan	de Lima
Doctor Gutierrez Velasquez	de Lima
Doctor D. Diego Mesia de Zuñiga	de Lima
Doctor D. Sebastian de Sandoval	de Huancavelica
Doctor D. Francisco de Sossa	de Lima
Doctor D. Juan del Campo	de Chile
Doctor D. Juan Blasquez de Valverde	de Huanuco
Doctor D. Thomas de Avendaño	de Lima

Doctor D. Juan de la Reinaga	de Lima
Doctor D. Sebastian de Alcocer	de Lima
Doctor D. Antonio de San Miguel	de Lima
Doctor Juan de Guerta	de Trujillo
Doctor D. Nicolas Polanco	de Lima
Doctor D. Juan de Morales Aramburu	de Lima
Doctor Juan de Urbina	de Lima

COLEGIAS MAYORES DE LOS COLEGIOS DE ESPAÑA

D. Juan de Salas y Valdes	del Cuzco	del de Oviedo
D. Alonso Bravo de Saravia	de Lima	de Maese Rodrigo
D. Diego de Mendieta	de Lima	del ? de Granada
D. Lope de Paz y Cuevas	del Reyno	del de Cuenca, año 1615
D. Andres de Villela	del Reyno	del mayor del Arcobpal [sic]
D. Francisco Manrique de Lara	de Lima	del mayor de Alcala

DIGNIDADES Y CANONGIAS EN LAS CATEDRALES DEL PERU
DIGNIDADES DE LIMA

Doctor D. Juan Belasquez	de Lima	Arçediano
Doctor D. Juan de la Roca	de Lima	Arçediano
Doctor Fernando de Guzman	de Trujillo	chantre
Doctor Feliciano de Vega	de Lima	chantre
Doctor D. Juan de Vargas y Mendoza	de Huamanga	thesorero
Doctor D. Pablo de Ortega Sotomayor	de Lima	Arçediano
D. Fernando de Avendaño	de Lima	chantre
Doctor D. Francisco de Godoy	de Chile	Maese escuela

CANONIGOS DE LIMA

Doctor D. Andres Diaz de Abreu	de Lima
Doctor Bartolome Menacho	de Lima
Doctor Baltasar de Padilla	de Lima
Doctor D. Juan de Balboa	de Lima
Doctor Francisco Davila	de Lima
Doctor D. Pedro Niño de Guzman	de Lima
D. Pedro Mauricio de	de Lima
Doctor D. Diego de Ençinas	de Mizque
Doctor D. Francisco Car- rasco	de Lima
Doctor D. Juan de Cabrera	de Lima
Doctor Juan Vitado de Vera	de Panama
Doctor Diego de Cordova	de Panama
Doctor Alonso Corbacho	de Panama

RACIÓNEROS

Doctor D. Francisco Calvo de Sandoval	de Lima
Licenciado D. Sebastian de Loiola	del Reyno
Licenciado D. Sancho de Paz	de Cuenca
Licenciado D. Juan de Xeria Maldonado	de Chile
Doctor D. Blas de Aguinaga	de Lima
D. de Aranda y Gatica	de Chile
Licenciado Juan de Aguilera	de Lima
D. Estevan de Ibarra	de Lima
Doctor D. Martin de Aramburu	de Lima
Maestro Juan de Avila	de Lima
D. Luis de Segarra	de Lima

CATEDRAL DE CHUQUISACA

Licenciado D. Pedro Fernandez de Cordova	de Chile	Dean
Doctor Baltasar Serrato	de Lima	chantre
Licenciado Juan de Cervantes	de Lima	canonigo
Doctor Diego Mesia Fernansil	de Lima	canonigo
Licenciado Melchor Roman Martel	de	canonigo
D. Antonio de Herrera y Toledo	de Santiago de Chile	canonigo
D. Pedro de Paredes y Prado	de Ica	canonigo

CATEDRAL DEL REYNO

Doctor D. Geronimo de Leon	de Lima	Dean del Reyno
Doctor D. Bernabe Gimano	de la Havana	Arcediano
Doctor D. Joseph de Alava	de Santa Fe	Maese descuela
Doctor D. Pedro de Chavez	de Munguita	Canonigo y capellan de [?] de S. Magestad
Doctor D. Pedro Ortiz [?]	de Santa Fe	Canonigo y comisario del santo oficio
Maldonado	de Santa Fe	Canonigo
Licenciado Bartolome Arias Ugarte	de Santa Fe	Canonigo
Licenciado Alonso Garcia Corro	de Santa Fe	Canonigo
Licenciado Juan de Bonilla	de Merida	Canonigo
Licenciado Pedro Ortiz Maldonado	de Musso	Canonigo
Licenciado Juan Bautista Pardo de Porras		Cura y escojido Predicador

CATEDRAL DE QUITO

Doctor D. Gaspar Centurion Spinola	de Lima	Arcediano
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CATEDRAL DE PANAMA

Licenciado Diego Balles-		
toros	de Panama	Dean
Licenciado Eugenio Guerra	de Panama	Canonigo
Licenciado D. Luis Guerra		
de Acuña	de Panama	thesorero

CATEDRAL DE CHUQUIABO

D. Pedro de las Cuentas	de Lima	Dean
Doctor Manuel de Esquibel	de Lima	Arçediano
Licenciado D. Pedro		
Gutierrez Coronel	de Lima	canonigo
Licenciado Luis Tassis de		
Ocampo	de Guayaquil	canonigo
Licenciado Francisco		
Barreto	de Lima	canonigo

CATEDRAL DEL CUZCO

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Doctor Julian de los Rios	de Lima	Maestre escuela
D. Garcia Henriquez		
Ravanal	de Arequipa	Maestre escuela
D. Pedro de Orna Alvarado	de Potosi	canonigo
D. Pedro Ontiveros	de la Imperial de Chile	chantre
D. Blasco de Valverde	del Cuzco	Maestre escuela
D. Juan Machado	de Quito	canonigo
D. Sancho Pardo	de Lima	canonigo

CATEDRAL DE SANTO DOMINGO

D. N. de Torquemada	de Santo Domingo	Dean
D. N. de Torquemada		
Suhero [?]	de Santo Domingo	Dean
D. Juan Francisco Mancera	de Santo Domingo	chantre
D. Francisco Cataño	de Santo Domingo	Dean

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Doctor D. Pedro de		
Cardenas	de Huamanga	Dean
D. Andres del Campo		
Salazar	de Quito	Arçediano
D. Antonio de Loiaisa	de Lima	chantre
D. Pedro de Prado	de Trujillo	Dean
Licenciado Alonso de		
Contreras	de Huancavelica	canonigo
Licenciado D. Pedro Guillen		
de Mendoza	de Huamanga	chantre
Licenciado D. Francisco		
de Ore	de Huamanga	arcediano
Licenciado D. Juan Sanchez		
de Alvarado	de Santiago de Chile	canonigo

CATEDRAL DE TRUJILLO

Licenciado D. Julian de la Torre y Escobar	de Panama	Dean
Licenciado D. Luis de Paz	de Panama	Arcediano
Doctor D. Andres de Silva	del Reyno	canonigo
Doctor Pedro de Reyna	de Lima	canonigo
Doctor D. Gregorio de Juin	de Lima	canonigo
Licenciado Alvarado	de Lima	canonigo
Licenciado San Martin	de Lima	canonigo
Doctor Osorio	de Lima	arcediano

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Doctor D. Fulgencio Maldonado	de Lima	chantre
Doctor Juan Bautista Tones Bolpe	de Lima	
Doctor D. Francisco de Godoy	de Chile	arcediano
Doctor Marcelo de Aramburu	de Lima	canonigo
D. de Montiel	de la Imperial de Chile	chantre

CATEDRAL DE SANTIAGO DE CHILE

D. Francisco Machado	de Santiago	chantre y provisor
Licenciado Geronimo de Salvatierra	de la Concepcion	canonigo
Licenciado D. Diego de Acocar	de Santiago	chantre
Licenciado D. Lope de Lauda Buitron	de Santiago	arcediano
Licenciado D. Geronimo de Aguito	de Santiago	dean
Licenciado D. Juan de la Fuente Loarte	de la Imperial	Maeseescuela
Licenciado D. Alonso de la Camara	de Osorno	thesorero
Licenciado D. Thomas Pastene	de Santiago	thesorero
Licenciado Francisco Navarro	de Santiago	canonigo
Licenciado D. Francisco de Vivero	de Osorno	canonigo

CATEDRAL DE LA IMPERIAL

D. Rodrigo de Vega Sarmiento	de la Concepcion	Arcediano
Licenciado Pedro de Aitano	de Chilan	canonigo

CATEDRAL DEL TUCUMAN

CATEDRAL DEL PARAGUAY

CATEDRAL DE BUENOS AIRES

CATEDRAL DE CARTAJENA

CATEDRAL DE MIZQUE

CATEDRAL DE POPAIAN

CATEDRAL DE PUERTO RICO

CATEDRAL DE SANTA MARTA

CATEDRAL DE LA MARGARITA

PREDICADORES FAMOSOS

Fray Estevan de Ribera	de Lima	de San Francisco
Padre Geronimo de Montesinos	de Lima	de la Compañia
D. Fulgencio Maldonado	de Lima	cleric, chantre de Arequipa
D. Juan de Cabrera	de Lima	canonico
Fray Baltasar de los Angeles	de Lima	Predicador del Rey, de San Francisco
Doctor Herrera de Escovedo	de Lima	cura de San Sebastian
Fray Pedro de Tevar	de Lima	Predicador del Rey, de San Francisco
Padre Maestro Badillo		de San Agustin
Padre elector [Lector ?] Tenorio		de San Francisco
Padre Encinas		de la Compañia
Padre Antonio de Contreras		de la Compañia

Y otros sin numero que fuera agraviar a muchos que quedan poner aun estos ruidosos que hacen auditórios grandes como el Padre Narvaez en Quito y Fray Bernardino de Cárdenas.

Escojense solo aquellos en este lugar que no tienen otro título por donde salir a este glorioso campo de lucimientos criollos sino solo su pulpito por que otros o tuvieron mas dicha o mejor fortuna y ansi van puestos estos pocos para muestra de tantos como siendo Dios servido mostrara la prensa.

PROVINCIALES CRIOLLOS
EN DIVERSAS PROVINCIAS DEL PERU

DE SANTO DOMINGO

Fr. Domingo de Balderrama
Fr. Salvador de Ribera
Fr. Agustín Montes
Fr. Nicolás de Agüero
Fr. Gabriel de Zárate
Fr. Luis Cornejo
Fr. Salvador Ramírez
Fr. Luis de Bilbao
Fr. Luis del Aragón
Fr. Pedro Védon
Fr. Martín de Salvatierra
Fr. Juan de Aumada
Fr. Sebastián Rosseño
Fr. Juan de Gama
Fr. Miguel de León
Fr. Antonio de Amusco
Fr. Juan de Espinar
Fr. Juan de Balenquela
Fr. de la Torre
Fr. Juan de Arginao

DE SAN FRANCISCO

Fr. Hernando Trejo
Fr. Geronimo Valera
Fr. Buenaventura de Fuentes
Fr. Juan de Aspeitia
Fr. Juan Jiménez
Fr. Diego de Aguilera
Fr. Martín de Ochoa
Fr. Luis Catena
Fr. Geronimo Tamayo
Fr. Mercado
Fr. Francisco Bentacur
Fr. Luis Lozcos

En el índice están las Patrias y de qué Provincia lo fueron.

SAN AGUSTIN

Fr. Alonso Pacheco
Fr. Diego Pérez
Fr. Francisco de la Serna
Fr. Lucas de Mendoza
Fr. Juan de Ríbera
Fr. Pedro de Narvaez [sic]
Fr. Juan de Altamirano

LA MERCED

Fr. Pedro Díaz Navarro
Fr. Pedro de Boorquez
Fr. [sic]

DE LA COMPAÑIA

Padre Antonio de Santillana
Padre [sic]

SOLDADOS VALEROSOS EN ARMAS
EN FLANDES, CHILE I OTRAS PARTES.

Rodrigo de Orozco

de Chuquisaca

en Flandes, grandes puestos

CAVALLEROS DE LAS TRES ORDENES MILITARES

[The title of the first military order is lacking in the manuscript. Perhaps it should be Santiago.]

D. Juan Bravo de Saravia	de Lima	Visitador General de los Cavalleros de la dicha Orden, año de 1628— Comendador de la Mota
D. Francisco de Irazaval y Andia, Comendador de Aguilarejo	de Lima	
D. Lope de Almendariz	del Cuzco	
Geronimo Castilla	del Cuzco	
Pedro Alonso Carrasco	del Cuzco	
D. Melchor Carlos Inca	del Cuzco	
D. Pedro Alonso Flores	de Lima	
D. Andres, criado de Castilla	de Lima	
D. Antonio de Oros	del Reyno	
D. Nicolas de Caravajal	de Lima	
D. Pedro Luiz de Guzman Ponce de Leon	de Quito	
D. Jorge Manrique de Lara	de Lima	
D. Francisco de Loayssa	del Cuzco	
D. Francisco de Balverde	del Cuzco	
D. Juan Antonio de Vargas	de Lima	
D. Juan de la Reynaga Salazar	de Lima	
D. Marcelo de Ornaio y Ribera	de Lima	
D. Beltran de Castro	de Lima	
D. Antonio de Aguiar	de Quito	
D. Diego de Carvajal, correo mayor	de Lima	
D. Francisco Feliz de Cordova	de Lima	
D. Carlos de Sotomayor	de Panama	
D. Antonio Paniagua de Loaisa	de Chuquisaca	
D. Juan Alonso de Vera y Zarate	de Chuquisaca	
D. Geronimo Diaz Zurbano	de Quito	
D. Francisco Sande	del Reyno	
D. Juan Cortes de Monroy	de Chile—la Serana [sic]	
D. Juan Melchor Carlos Inze [sic]	del Cuzco	
D. Rodrigo Vargas Caravajal	de Lima	
D. Pedro de la Cueva	de Lima	
D. Garcia de Alvarado y Velasco	de Chuquiabu	
D. Juan de Velasco y Alvarado, su hermano	de Chuquiabu	
D. Juan de Salas y Valdes	del Cuzco	
D. Pedro de Castro y Sasega	de Lima	
D. Juan Enriquez, marques de Oropesa	de Lima	
D. Francisco de Avendano Valdivia	de Chile	
D. Francisco Zarate del Gadillo	de Lima	
D. Jorge de Ribera	de Santiago de Chile	
D. Agustin Sarmiento	de Cartajena	
D. Fernando Balvera de Mercado	de Panama	

D. Francisco de las Cuentas Nuño de Guzman	de Lima
D. Antonio Baçan	de Chuquibabo
D. Rodrigo de Esquibel	del Cuzco
D. Fernando Solorçano y Paniagua	de Lima
D. Andres de Zavala	de Lima
D. Pedro Gutierrez de Mendoza	de la Nasca
D. Gomez de Chaves	de Lima
D. Francisco de Balverde	del Cuzco
D. Cristoval Fernandez de Heredia	de Lima
D. Andres Garavito de Leon	de Lima
D. Pedro Lezcano Centeno	de Chuquisaca
D. Domingo de Loaysa	de Lima
Frey D. Diego Ramirez de Cepeda	de Lima
D. Juan de Loaissa	de Lima
D. Francisco de Valverde	del Cuzco
D. Luis de Loma Puerto Carrero	de Chuquisaca
D. Gabriel de Paniagua	de Chuquisaca
D. Pedro de Mercado	de Lima
D. Agustin de Medina	de Lima
D. Melchor de Montalvo	de Lima
D. Fernando de Castilla Altamirano	de Lima
D. Pedro de Zarate	de Lima

DE SAN JUAN

D. Antonio Henriquez Pimentel	de Santo Domingo
D. Geronimo Vela	de Huamanga
D. Nuño de la Cueva Sandoval	de Lima
D. Geronimo Vela [sic]	de Huamanga

ALCANTARA

D. Diego de Vargas y Carvajal	de Lima
D. Fernando de Iraçabal y Andia	de Santiago de Chile
D. Lorenzo de Zarate	de Lima
D. Luis de Quinones	de Lima

CALATRAVA

D. Juan Davalos y Ribera	de Lima
D. Rodrigo de Guzman	de Lima
D. Diego de Zarate	de Chile
D. Sancha [sic] Diaz Zurbano	de Chuquisaca
D. Luis Beltran de Mendoza	de Lima
D. Juan de Valdes y Melinas	de Çaragoza en el Reyno
D. Pedro Suarez Lanchero	de Tunja en el Reyno
D. Antonio Maldonado	de Santa Fe
D. Francisco Venegas	de Santa Fe
D. Juan de Acuña	de Cartajena
D. Pedro Joseph Eduardo Calderon y Quiñones	de Chuquisaca
D. Alonso Niño de Guzman	de Lima
D. Francisco de la Cueva Sandoval i Vañez [Ibañez ?]	de Lima
D. Alejos de Salas y Valdes	del Cuzco
D. Leandro de la Reynaga y Santillan	de Lima
D. Juan de Cáceres y Cordova	de Lima
D. Sancho de Caravajal	de Lima
D. Gabriel Niño de Guzman	de Lima
D. Solorçano	de Lima

[The following is written in a different hand.]

D. Bernardino de Almança, Arzobispo del Nuevo Reyno de Granada, nacio en el Valle de Jauja. Sus padres fueron naturales de Valladolid y Zamora. Fue arcediano de los Charcas y Arçobispo de Santo Domingo.

Don Fernando Arias Ugarte, Obispo de Panama y Quito y Arçobispo de Santa Fe su patria y promovido a Lima el año de 1630. Murió el de 1638.

Don Fray Fernando Trejo, Obispo de Tucuman, nacio en el Paraguai de la orden de San Francisco.

Don Fray Gabriel de Zarate, Obispo de Guamanga, natural de Lima, governo dos años, murió el de 1638.

Fray Geronimo Valera de la orden de San Francisco. Insigne theologo.

Padre Juan Perez Menacho de la Compañía. Theologo insigne escrivio muchos libros.

Don Diego de Cuenca y Contreras del Supremo de Castilla, natural de la ciudad de los Reyes.

Fray Estevan de Rivera de la orden de San Francisco. Predicador insignie.

Padre Fray Alonso Ramos Gavilan, agustino. Historiador escrivio la historia de la Cruz milagrosa de Carabuco y de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana del Peru.

Fray Bernardo Boorques de la Merced. Ilustre en virtud.

Rosa de Santa Maria, tercera de Santo Domingo, nacio en Lima, fue ilustre en santidad.

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II. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

In preparing to write this study, the author visited many archives, particularly in Peru. The documents which were located have been cited in their proper place, and there is no need to mention them again. Several other archives were visited which yielded no material for this work. These were: Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Archivo Arzobispal del Cuzco, Archivo del Convento de San Francisco del Cuzco, Archivo de la Recoleta del Cuzco, Archivo Ocopa, Archivo de la Provincia de San Francisco Solano (Lima), Archivo de San Francisco de Arequipa, Archivo Rubén Vargas Ugarte (Lima), Archivo del Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (Lima), Archivo Histórico del Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio (Lima) and Archivo del Seminario de Santo Toribio (Lima). The author is sincerely grateful to the custodians of these archives for their unfailing courtesy.

There is one unpublished narrative which deserves special mention here. It is a manuscript in the New York Public Library:

Córdoba y Salinas, Diego de, O.F.M. *Teatro de la Santa Iglesia Metropolitana de la muy noble Ciudad de los Reyes, llamada comunmente Lima, Emperio y Corte Real de los estendidos Reynos y Provincias del Peru, vidas de sus Ilustrísimos Arçobispes y cosas memorables de su Sede, sus Iglesias, Parroquias y Conventos.* Lima, March 5, 1650.

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